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ANNOUNCING THE SECOND ANNUAL

ARIZONA HISTORICAL CONVENTION

THURSDAY, FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 17, 18, 1961 AT TUCSON, ARIZONA

Sponsored by the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society and The University of Arizona

INVITATIONS HAVE BEEN extended to all historians of Arizona and the Southwest to attend the Second Annual Arizona Historical Convention at Tucson, Arizona, March 16, 17, 18, 1961. The sessions will be held at the Historical Society and at the University Drama Theatre, Fine Arts College, University of Arizona. The response and encouragement generated by the initial Convention in 1960, have enabled us to plan a wide range of topics, over a two day period, to appeal to pioneers, writers, and all historically oriented persons. No simultaneous sessions are scheduled. The commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the death of Father Eusebio Francisco Kino S.J. occurs this year. Recognition of the event will be celebrated on March 15, 1961, at St. Augustine Cathedral by a Pontifical Mass. Not only will Ernest J. Burrus S.J. present a paper in Kino's honor, but two new publications are to be released in time for the convention. In addition paintings by Ted DeGrazia depicting activities in Kino's life will be displayed at the Historical Society.

Participants in the Convention include Professor Donald C. Cutter, University of Southern California; Dr. George P. Hammond, Bancroft Library; Mr. Lawton Kennedy, San Francisco; Mr. Glen Dawson, Los Angeles; Professor Paul H. Ezell, San Diego State College; Mr. Ross Santee, Wilmington, Delaware; and Professor Jack D. Forbes, San Fernando Valley State College. The featured speaker is Dr. Carl S. Dentzel, Director of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles.

Memorial plaque dedicated to Father Eusebio Francisco Kino in 1936 by the Kino Memorial Association. This marker is located near the city hall in Tucson, Arizona.

CONVENTION SPECIAL FEATURES

EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT OF PAINTINGS depicting Kino's work by artist Ted DeGrazia at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, and other special exhibits of Spanish and Mexican period documents.

Exhibit of documentary material on Kino at the University of Arizona Library—*Special Collections Division.*

Publications Exhibit—a joint showing by the W. J. Holliday Foundation, the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society and the University of Arizona Press. This display is in the University of Arizona Library, front entrance lobby.

Wednesday, March 15, 1961

5:00 P.M. Solemn Pontifical Mass, St. Augustine Cathedral in observance of the 250th Anniversary of the Death of Father Eusebio Fancisco Kino.

CONVENTION PROGRAM

Thursday, March 16, 1961

10:00 A.M. Registration at Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 949 East 2nd Street, Tucson, and throughout convention.

1:30 P.M. Bus tour with guide (conducted to Fort Lowell and other historic sites, by the Junior League of Tucson).

4:00 P.M. A meeting of the *Executive Council* and *Special Advisors* of the Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic Sites in Arizona. Meeting at Board of Director's room, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.

8:30 P.M. Tucson Civic Chorus, Mission San Xavier.

Friday, March 17, 1961

All sessions at the University of Arizona Drama Theatre—Fine Arts College except as otherwise noted.

9:00 A.M.	"Historical Research in Arizona Archives," at the Special Collections Division, University of Arizona	4 papers
9:00 A.M.	"Arizona History by Junior Historians"	2 papers
10:30 A.M.	"Ethnohistory"	2 papers
12:00 Noon	No set engagement for luncheon	
1:30 P.M.	"The Spanish Southwest"	2 papers
3:00 P.M.	"Western Art"	2 papers
6:00 P.M.	Reception for registrants	Pioneer Hotel

Saturday, March 18, 1961

All sessions at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society

9:00 A.M.	"The Civil War: A Commemorative Program"	4 papers
10:30 A.M.	"Historic Sites in Arizona: Their Preservation and Restoration"	4 papers
12:00 Noon	Luncheon at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society	
1:30 P.M.	"Archival Research: Spain in Mexico"	2 papers
3:00 P.M.	"Frontiers in Western Publishing"	2 papers
7:30 P.M.	Banquet Speaker, Dr. Carl S. Dentzel	Tidelands Inn

THE QUEST OF THE BLUE SHELLS†

By RONALD L. IVES*

TRACER TECHNIQUES, according to almost any "authority," are a recent development, roughly contemporaneous with Relativity, Atomic Fission, and the Singing Commercitl. Certainly, public awareness of this valuable scientific method dates from about 1940.

A more careful investigation discloses that tracer techniques were used effectively more than a century ago to indicate sources of pollution of water supplies, to locate primary ore bodies from valley train deposits, and even to determine the direction of travel of the Pleistocene continental glaciers.

The first recorded use of tracer techniques in North America, so far as available records go, occurred slightly more than two and a half centuries ago, and was the work of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., a most competent scientist who is better known to History as "The Apostle to the Pimas."

Using the blue shells of the common abalone, *Haliotis linnaeus*, as a trace element, Father Kino demonstrated, by rigorous reasoning and diligent field investigation, that there was extensive trade and travel between the Pacific coast, where the abalone occurred and the desert land of Papagueria, where the abalone shell was present as a "trade item," serving not only as a kitchen utensil, but also as the raw material for many decorative artifacts.

The entire concept of the interrelation of the abalone source, the mode of dissemination of the shells, the occurrence of the shells in Papagueria, and the geographical significance of the whole, apparently occurred to Father Kino in a matter of moments in March of 1699, while returning to Mission Dolores from the country of the Yumas. This he clearly states in his diaries[1] ". . . those blue shells must be from the opposite coast of California and the South Sea, and that by the route by which they had come thence, from there to here, we could pass from here thither, and to California."

Modern psychologists will class this, correctly, as a "flash of insight," the precursor of most important scientific discoveries. Typical, also, is the implied question, "Why didn't I think of this before?" (". . . and still it did not occur to us, etc. . . ."). Like most "sudden" discoveries, this one was a long time in gestation. From Father Kino's own diaries we learn that he first observed the blue abalone shells on the Pacific shore of Baja California about Dec. 30, 1684, where he had journeyed as cosmographer of the Atondo Expedition. Here (near the present Boca de San Gregorio, Lat. 26°03′ N.; Long. 112°17′ W. approx.), at low tide, members of the party noted "shells of rare and beautiful luster, of all colors of the rainbow, every one of them larger than the largest mother-of-pearl shells." Local Indians used the blue abalone shells as drinking cups.

During the ensuing fourteen years and some months, Father Kino saw and recorded abalone shells in many inland locations, and received gifts of abalone from the Yumas only a few days before their geographical significance became apparent to him.

The long time lapse between first clear evidence and final concept is not at all unusual, and is no reflection on Father Kino's mental processes. Educators, and those concerned with expediting scientific progress, are still wrestling with the problem of rapid acquisition of "background" and reduction of "soak-in time." It is interesting to note, in passing, that none of Father Kino's associates drew any geographical conclusions from the distribution of the abalone shells, although all of them, specifically including Capt. Juan Mateo Manje, Kino's military companion on many difficult marches, were men of considerable education, and demonstrated intellectual acumen.

A scientific hypothesis, no matter how plausible it may appear, must be rigorously checked, by all available methods, before it merits wide acceptance. Although Father Kino probably never heard the term "scientific method," he was fully aware of the *modi operandi* of scientific investigation, and promptly set out to prove[2] his hypothesis. Appreciable part of his diaries for 1699 and 1700 closely resemble an experimental scientist's notebooks, recording in detail the

†The writer is indebted to Dr. Myra Keen, Department of Geology, Stanford University, for many helpful discussions of the abalone, its habitat, and its present and former range.

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investigations made and the results obtained. His official correspondence for the same period contains many mentions of the blue shells, their possible significance, and the progress of his inquiries and searches.

The intensity and thoroughness of this investigation is clearly shown by diary notations. On April 26, 1700, at the rancheria of San Xavier del Baac, Kino writes, "I tried to take and did take measures to find out whether the blue shells came from any other region than the opposite coast of California. To that end I dispatched various messengers in all directions—to learn with all possible exactness in regard to the blue shells and the land passage of California."[3]

While the messengers were en route, Kino and party, with many Indian aides, "began the foundations of a very large and capacious church house and house of San Xavier del Baac" (April 28, 1700).

Soon the various queries began to get results. At a night assemblage and conference on April 30, 1700, Kino "made further and further inquiries as to whence came the blue shells, and all asserted that there were none in this nearest Sea of California (the Gulf of California), but that they came from other lands more remote."[4] The next day, May 1, 1700, saw the arrival of many "justices, captains and governors" from the west, and conferences were continued again far into the night. Among the subjects covered were "various inquiries regarding the blue shells which were brought from the northwest and from the Yumas and Cutganes, which admittedly came from the opposite coast of California and from the sea which is ten or twelve days' journey father than this other Sea of California, on which there are shells of pearl and white, and many others, but none of the blue ones which they gave us among the Yumas . . ."[5]

From the accumulated evidence, of which the foregoing quotations are only a small part, Father Kino drew the following conclusions:

1. That the blue abalone shells occur only on the shores of the South Sea (Pacific Ocean), and that they do not occur in the nearer Sea of California (Gulf of California).

2. That all of the blue abalone shells found in Papagueria were brought in from the west, by Indians, who travelled overland.

3. That the western shore of California was ten to twelve days' journey (afoot) west of the country of the Yumas.

As a direct result of these conclusions Kino immediately dropped his plans to complete a boat at Caborca, planned for the sea exploration of the upper part of the Sea of California; and drew up plans for an overland search for the much-to-be-desired land passage to California. The first change of plans undoubtedly pleased Kino's superior, Father Mora greatly[6]; about the second he was dutifully silent.

The findings in regard to the blue shells, samples of the shells themselves, and the rigorously tested hypothesis that there was a passage by land to California, were all communicated rapidly to Kino's ecclesiastical superiors and co-workers; eliciting, in most instances, enthusiastic replies, accompanied by the hope that a land exploration would soon be made.

These expeditions were made, and the records of them form an important and impressive chapter in the history of American exploration. Most widely-known result of these investigations was Kino's famous and beautiful map "Passo por Tierra a la California," dated 1701. The most important expedition, geographically, was that made between Feb. 5, 1702, and the middle of April of the same year, by Father Kino, in company with Father Rector Manuel Gonzales. Travelling by way of Sonoyta and the Camino del Diablo, the two Fathers reached the western shore of the Gulf of California, just below the mouth of the Colorado, and watched the sun rise over the Gulf on the morning of March 11, 1702!

Misfortune dogged the return journey from the head of the Gulf. The first eastward attempt, made directly across the *Medanos* toward Pinacate, failed for lack of water and high winds, necessitating difficult backtracking to the longer route via Yuma.[7] At Sonoyta, Father Gonzales, who had embarked on the journey suffering from a "painful flux"[8] of long standing, became too ill to ride farther, and was carried in a litter, borne by Papago volunteers, from Sonoyta to Tubutama. There, despite the best medical efforts of all concerned, he died sometime after April 8, 1702, and before April 17, of the same year. With his death, Father Kino lost not only an old and valued friend, and sympathetic superior, but also a much-needed "official witness" to his discoveries.

The "official" demonstration of the peninsularity of California took place in the fall of 1706, when Father Kino took a party of

observers to the Sierra of Santa Clara (Pinacate), and showed them the lands visible at the head of the Gulf, including "the great sandy beach where the sea ends." The night of Nov. 5-6 was spent atop the Pinacates, and observations were continued the next morning. The joint report of the expedition,[9] was signed by Father Kino, Fray Manuel de la Oyuela y Vedarte, Alferez Juan Matheo Ramires and squadron commander Juan Antonio Duran, indicates that all were conviced of the peninsularity of California. Also interesting is the separate certification of the same facts by Fray Manuel de la Oyuela,[10] who apparently was much impressed by Sonoran progress.

So far as Father Kino and the official witnesses were concerned, the peninsularity of California, first indicated by the origin and distribution of the blue abalone shells, was now conclusively proven. Some geographers accepted these findings almost immediately, others stubbornly cherished the legendary "Island of California" and "Strait of Anian" for almost a century more.

Here we have, in greatly abbreviated form, the history of a very successful scientific investigation, completed a quarter of a milennium ago. Unlike many "old" studies, this one, being entirely correct, has stood the test of time, and today's maps, although containing more detail, look much like Kino's.

Critical review of the entire investigation, using all available modern knowledge, which contains perhaps 10,000 times as many pertinent facts as were available to Father Kino, shows plainly that the ancient study was not only successful, but also sound and competently conducted.

Father Kino's choice of the abalone shell as a tracer was most fortunate, for it is a unique shell, easily identifiable, and not likely to be mistaken for anything else. Structure of a typical abalone shell is shown in Fig. 1, in which the laminated interior configuration, and the variegated mother-of-pearl lining are apparent. The irridescent blues, reds, and occasional yellows of the shell lining cannot, of course, be shown in black and white, and they constitute a severe test of even the best of our modern color reproduction processes.

The abalone today occurs in the Pacific coastal waters from central Oregon to central Baja California, and in no other North American waters. Paleontological studies show that the range of the abalone has been quite stable in pleistocene and recent times, despite known changes in sea levels, ocean currents, and ocean temperatures, particularly during the Ice Ages. The first Californians of whom we have records found the abalone in about the same places where we find them today. This we know to be true, for abalone shells and shell fragments are found in the oldest shell middens of the California coasts.

As Father Kino correctly noted more than two and a half centuries ago, the abalone does not occur in the waters of the Gulf of California. Studies of ancient beaches and fossil shell deposits along the shore of the Sea of Cortez disclose no evidence or suggestion that the abalone ever did live there. In consequence, we can state with great confidence, as did Father Kino just before 1700, that any abalone shells found in Papagueria "must be from the opposite coast of California and the South Sea."

Normal range of the abalone is shown in Fig. 2, a summary map based on the best data available today.

Abalone shells were a popular "trade item" among the American Indians, as is clearly shown by the Kino documents, and many related early accounts. Extensive archaeological investigations in recent years have shown that abalone shells were traded eastward from the California coast to numerous sites east of the Mississippi. The same studies indicate that this trade continued for considerably more than 1,000 years before Kino's time. Limits of the area

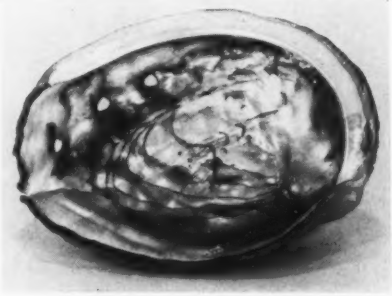

Fig. 1. Interior of the common abalone shell *(Haliotis linnaeus)*, showing physical structure and variegated lining. This specimen, from Monterey Bay, California, was loaned by the Department of Geology, Stanford University.

in which abalone shells have been found in archaeological sites are shown in Fig. 2.[11]

Interestingly, abalone shells are still a trade item, many visitors to California coastal areas purchasing one or more, which ultimately find their way to points as far distant as the Atlantic coast. Archaeologists of the far future may be sorely puzzled at the interdeposition of abalone shells with the vacuum tubes and Coca Cola bottles in the middens of the primitives of the Fourth Interglacial!

Because many of our modern trade and travel routes approximate those used by the Indians, going from water hole to water hole in desert areas; and over the smoothest terrain in those well-watered, the trajectory of the traded abalone shell has changed lit-

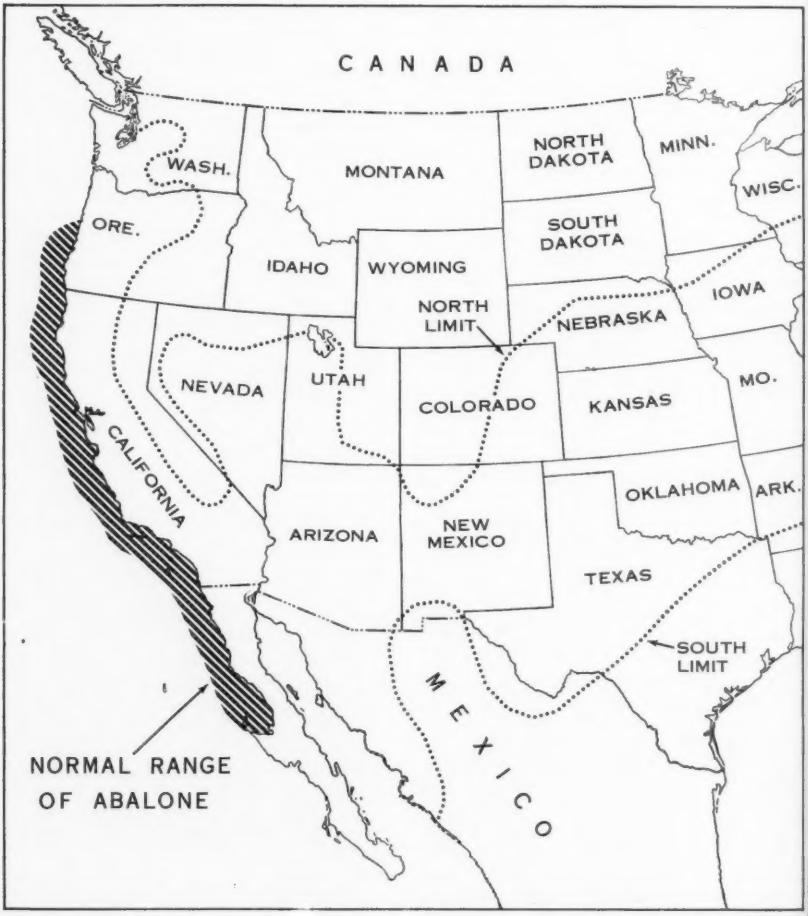

Fig. 2. Summary map of the western United States and adjacent parts of Canada and Mexico, showing normal range of the abalone, and limits of the area within which abalone shells were an aboriginal "trade item."

tle in the last 1,000 years, although the speed of dissemination has increased greatly.

Thus it appears that Father Kino's pioneer use of ecological tracers—the "blue shells"—was not only a successful and competently-conducted study in his time; but must still be regarded as a brilliant scientific investigation, worthy not only of mention, but of careful study, after a lapse of a quarter of a milennium!

NOTES

1. Bolton, Herbert E.; *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta*, Cleveland (Clark), 1919; Berkeley (Univ. Calif. Press), 1948, v. I, p. 230.
2. *Prove* is here used in the sense *to test by experiment* or *to try out*, and not necessarily in the sense *to establish as true*.
3. Bolton, Herbert E. *op. cit.* p. 235.
4. Bolton, Herbert E. *op. cit.* p. 237.
5. Bolton, Herbert E. *op. cit.* p. 238.
6. Bolton, Herbert E. *Rim of Christendom*, New York, (Macmillan), 1936, p. 386-389.
7. These *Medanos* were successfully crossed somewhere in this area by Francisco Garces, in 1771; and a pack train was taken across them by Carl Lumholtz and Alberto Celaya in 1910.
8. This may well have been advanced amoebic dysentery, still endemic in the Sonoran Desert area.
9. Bolton, Herbert E. *op. cit.* (Memoir), p. 919-209 (Vol. II).
10. Bolton, Herbert E. *op. cit.* (Memoir), p. 209-214 (Vol. II).
11. These limits are set on the basis of information contained in 200-odd references, which may or may not be a fair sampling of the field. In areas without the indicated limits, the situation may be any one of the following: (a) No abalone (b) Insufficient study to find abalone present (c) Abalone finds not reported (d) Report not seen by this writer.

THE MEANING OF HISTORY

By Louis Bernard Schmidt*

History is more than a mere "record of events" or "happenings." It is the story of man living in social relations to the world. It is a written record of what man has thought or said or done. It is, in short, a record of the past life of humanity.

The primary function of history is to awaken a "consciousness of the unity of the past with the present;" to develop a conception of "society as an organism" and of the life of society as "an evolution" and not as "a mere succession of events or episodes." It would be a mistake to assume that history has no other function than to furnish facts; although the importance of a careful and painstaking gathering of the facts should be emphasized. Organization and interpretation are essential if history is to perform its true function, which is to trace development. Events and conditions should therefore be regarded not as being isolated or unrelated or even of equal importance; but as related to both preceding and later developments. That is to say, they are important in so far as they help to explain some course of development.

History gives us a knowledge of how human society came to be what it is. It shows us not only the steps of development but also the kinds of development. It shows us what progress man has made in the economic, political, social, technological, intellectual, religious, aesthetic, and moral phases of his development. It helps us to understand that our most highly valued social possessions are deeply rooted in the past and to view the world as undergoing a continuous process of readjustment and change. The importance of this knowledge can hardly be over-estimated. The growing acceptance of this fact has had a profound influence on thinking in all lines of scientific endeavor in our own time.

A knowledge of history enables us to place ourselves in proper relation to our time; its forces, struggles, and tendencies. It helps us, not only to understand the place of our own age among ages, but it also gives us a better knowledge of the age in which we live. History alone enables us to learn the directions in which mankind has been developing and to understand the movements and tendencies of the present. The history of political periods shows us, for example, that we have been advancing along the paths of freedom and capacity for self-government. We cannot separate ourselves from the past, for we are largely what the past has made us. This is as true of nations as of individuals.

It is history alone that can give us a consciousness of movement and a sense of direction. It is history that tells us that we have traveled, how far, and along what

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road. It is history that can tell us whether the guides who offer to conduct us further are trustworthy or not. In the present confusion of conflicting counsels, the only safe voice is the voice of history. A knowledge of history thus becomes necessary in order that we may understand the needs of the present. It is of the utmost importance that our law-makers should keep this fact in mind; that they should be careful regarding steps which provide the radical changes.

The study of history constitutes a preparation for intelligent and effective cooperation with our fellow men. It helps to promote more sympathetic understanding among individuals, classes, and nations. It affords training in the collection and weighing of evidence and helps to develop fairmindedness by showing how men have honestly differed in the past. History thus plays the role of mediator between opposing groups, reconciles differences, and furnishes a basis for cooperation. History further stimulates intelligent patriotism by familiarizing young people with the history of their own country and its place in the world.

History helps to cure pessimism by showing that civilization as a whole has been moving forward. It helps to avoid extreme optimism by teaching that real progress can be made only by holding to that which experience has demonstrated to be good in our present civilization and discarding only that which experience has shown to be positively bad. History, in short, is to society what memory is to the individual. It is a record of the accumulated experience of the past which serves as a key to the storehouse of human knowledge for the guidance of man in dealing with the problems of the present.

What is the use of history? Dr. Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne gives an answer to this question is his book: *History and Historical Problems* (Oxford University Press, 1925). He observes that:

> Everything depends upon what is meant by 'use', in this verdict. Certainly history is of no use in the sense is which a spade, or a motor-car, or electricity, are of use. It is not a material thing which can be employed in the running of a business. The man who knows no history can dig potatoes or milk a cow just as well as the man who knows several periods, if we may be allowed to assume that this knowledge need not incapacitate anyone from admittedly useful occupations. But there is more than one kind of 'use.'
>
> Is experience of no use? Is an experienced man no better than one who is raw? Do we not consider experience to be valuable and desirable? History is the recorded experience of mankind in all ages. All that man has striven to attain, and has attained, all his balked aspirations and his unrealized dreams, all his splendid achievements and his disappointments, furnish the stuff of which history is made. The various forms which human society has assumed under stress of circumstances, the institutions which have been created to hold it together, their modifications in the course of time, the disappearance of some, the adaptation of others to fresh requirements,—history exhibits these things, unraveling the processes by which modes of government have been changed, and the experiments which have been tried and have failed, and the others which have been tried and retained as part of the working machinery of social order. The idealism of revolutions and the actual working out of the ideals; the conflict between theory and practice, the difference between vision and reality, the interplay of character and event, the cross currents of ambition, passion, pure faith, sheer cupidity, mob madness, craft, villainy, self-sacrifice, lofty principle, mean mendacity; the striving of masses of conflicting wills and manipulations of opinion by master strategists—history analyzes and straightens out these complexities and makes available the experience gained in a thousand crises. Is all this of no use?
>
> No one man in a lifetime can obtain more than a fragment of the experience which is available even in his own generation. He may know something of politics, war, travel, tumult, wealth, poverty, sport, sickness, the exaltation of success, the depression of failure; he may enjoy a wide liberality of human contacts; he may have been richly dowered with opportunities, and have have had the wisdom to use them to the full. But he will still be a man of limited experience, and his limitations will be enlarged by history, and be the more limited without it. Personal experience too, however extensive, lacks the sifting, the correlation to which history subjects human experience in the wider ambit of time and conditions surveyed by it. History clarifies, criticises, compares, coordinates experience, and makes it available for all. To deny that this not a utility would be a strange contention.

It is "only through the medium of history," to quote a recent statement of the American Historical Association, "that the man of today can make a true appraisal of existing institutions and build the future on a stable foundation."

These conclusions suggest certain guiding principles which should become a part of the mental equipment of every student and teacher of history if this subject is to function properly in education for good citizenship:

1. *Historical Mindedness.* The problems of human society must be studied from the standpoint of historical evolution. This is essential for the very obvious reason that present day economic, political, and social problems necessarily have their origin in the past and therefore can be understood

only in the light of their historical development. We have, to state it briefly, but one lamp by which our feet are guided and that is the lamp of experience. If more attention were paid to this simple fact, we would not be flooded with so many foolish schemes of political reform designed as cure-alls for the ills of society. It is safe to say that a great deal of legislation that has been proposed has been motivated by the desire for re-election to office. The historian knows this; and so does the economist, the political scientist, and the statesman.

2. *The Essential Unity of the Social Studies.* It must be remembered that we have in history, government, economics, and sociology not separate compartments of thought but one closely coordinated and mutually interdependent system of thought. This may be illustrated, for example, by taxation. This problem may be considered from two leading points of view: first, the fundamental principles of taxation which are a part of economic theory; and, second, administration which belongs to political science. But we cannot reach sound conclusions from either point of view except on the basis of a careful historical study of the essential factors involved. The same reasoning holds true for other problems. None of these problems lie wholly in the province of economics or wholly in the province of government. This fact emphasizes the unity of the social studies and hence the need of cooperation if these subjects are to make their respective contributions in the solution of present day problems. We need specialists of course; but the specialist needs to be familiar with the whole field of the social sciences.

3. *History the Guide for the Future.* What I here have in mind is the direct application of expert knowledge to current economic, political, and social problems in much the same way that the natural scientist gives expert knowledge on the basis of laboratory experiments. It may not be out of place in this connection to suggest that the so-called practical man may in reality be the most visionary and impractical for the reason that he does not use history as a guide in dealing with the problems of human society. "There is no way of judging the future but by the past." Good statesmanship, in short, depends upon a knowledge and understanding of history which furnishes the necessary background for an intelligent comprehension of present day problems of human betterment.

WHAT IS ETHNOHISTORY?

By BERNARD L. FONTANA*

THE BEGINNING STUDENT of anthropology is often bemused, if not confused, by the vast array of diverse kin in that gathering of anthropological specialties, the "ethno" family. *Ethno*graphy and *ethno*logy are the oldest and reigning members of the family, but in the past several years a proliferating urge has given birth to such offspring as *ethno*zoology, *ethno*botany, *ethno*geography, *ethno*choreography, *ethno*biology, *ethno*conchology, *ethno*dicy, *ethno*psychology, and, perhaps more wonderful than the rest, *ethno*musicology.

Our prefix here, *ethno-*, is from the Greek word for "nation," *ethnos*. In anthropological and sociological jargon, an ethnic group is a group of people who conceive of themselves as belonging together and who can be differentiated from other ethnic groups on the basis of group symbols: common language, traditions, habits, clothing, and so on. Jews, American Negroes, Americans of Japanese and Chinese ancestry, Americans of Mexican ancestry, of Polish ancestry, Italian ancestry, or whatever it may be, are frequently members of ethnic groups bearing their unique labels. The various American Indian groups are each ethnic groups fitting neatly the dimensions of the definition.

What conceptual order might be made of this apparent chaos in which Jews and Indians are described as ethnic groups and where we find a dozen *ethno-* specialties purporting to bear on ethnic groups? Where, moreover, can we place on the kinship chart yet another member of the family, a lusty infant struggling to be enshrined almost as a self-contained discipline, *ethno*history?

What is ethnohistory? A question presented in this form may be answered in at least

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two ways. One way is to render an opinion on what one thinks something ought to be; another is to present as objectively as possible what something has become and is in reality. I want to pursue the latter course.

Let us first make an assault on our problem via the comparative approach. Let us compare ethnohistory with these other conceptual terms to see how they are alike and how they are different. Ethnography and ethnology stand apart from the others in that they describe broad theoretical subareas within cultural anthropology. The former is a description of a single culture; the latter the comparative analyses of aspects of more than one culture. They are not cultural anthropological specialties so much as they are descriptions of what a cultural anthropologist might be doing at any moment. They are inseparable aspects of cultural anthropological research, inseparable in fact if not in theory.

The remaining *ethno-* studies, it seems to me, are merely descriptive of the specialized interest of the investigator; an anthropologist whose specialty is native use of plants is an ethnobotanist; an anthropologist whose parsticular interest is native jurisprudence is an ethnodicist, and so on.

If this were all, the problem of definitions would be simple. An ethnohistorian would simply be an anthropologist whose special interest is the history of ethnic groups. One difficulty is that as a matter of fact, the study of the past of Jews, of Americans of Mexican descent, and of numerous other ethnic groups has not been regarded as *ethno*history, but simply as history. Another difficulty is that all of these other specialties involve the consideration of some aspect of the ethnic group from the viewpoint of the ethnic group itself. The ethnobotanist wants to know what uses a people make of their plants; the ethnomusicologist wants to know what music the people themselves produce; the ethnogeographer wants to understand what adaptation the group has made to its native surroundings. The ethnohistorian, however, is in a different position. He does not collect the history of the group he is studying from the group itself simply because the groups with which he is concerned have no history. They have a past, true, but history—a written record of past events—they have none.

This brings us to our definition of ethnohistory: it is the study of the past of non-literate groups as gleaned from the records of literate people with whom they come into contact. In other words, it is the history of non-literate peoples as written by someone else. We thus speak of the history of the Jews, of the ethnohistory of the Osage Indians; of the history of the Japanese peopeople, of the ethnohistory of the Iroquois. The record of the past of a non-literate group collected from the members of that group is not regarded as ethnohistory, but as oral history, a part of ethnology. This places ethnohistory in a unique position among the members of the *ethno-* family. It becomes the study of the kind of history and historical records resulting from the contact between literate and non-literate groups.

Traditionally it has been the anthropologist rather than the historian who has concerned himself with this kind of history. The quarterly journal devoting itself exclusively to the subject, *Ethnohistory*, is the organ of the American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference, and its most active supporters from the editor of the journal on down have tended to be anthropologists. But more and more the ethnohistorians are finding themselves in the center of several established branches of learning, and in the ethnohistorian we find the chief hope for interdisciplinary study involving history, ethnology, and archaeology, particularly historic archaeology. Ethnohistory may well prove to be the catalyst for these splinter approaches to the study of man's past. I am not suggesting, as some writers have, that ethnohistory be established as a brand new discipline; but I am suggesting that historians as well as anthropologists might embrace this field as a specialty, realizing that both historical and anthropological techniques are required for its successful pursuit. We have before us an academic humpty-dumpty of history and anthropology that ethnohistory may be able to put back together again.

The writings of historians, cultural anthropologists, archaeologists, and ethnohistorians have a great deal in common. Each investigator begins by concerning himself with the description of specific details of particular events. Or, to word it another way, each investigator first goes after "special knowledge of particular fact." At this "ground floor" level of scholarly pursuit we find the production of descriptive ethnography, the chronological representation of historic events, the description of artifacts

and their contexts, and the annotation of diaries or other documents describing or involving non-literate peoples.

When the job of fact gathering and the presentation of the facts is done, one then begins to compare his findings with those of others to perceive recurring similarities to arrive at generalizations about man's past. It is the observation of facts, their classification, generalization from them, and prediction based upon these generalizations that constitutes social science, and when our studies have reached this plane, we stand on common ground.

The ethnohistorian can appreciate, perhaps, better than anyone else the fact that the aims of history and of anthropology as scholarly endeavors have more in common than they do otherwise. The techniques have differed; the organization of data have differed. Ethnohistory is at the crossroads: it belongs neither to history nor to anthropology; it belongs to both.

What is ethnohistory? It is the history of non-literate peoples. It is our hope for a marriage of history and anthropology.

HISTORIC SITE ARCHAEOLOGY

WILLIAM W. WASLEY*

TRADITIONALLY HISTORIANS have shunned archaeology with the same persistence with which archaeologists have eschewed history, often to the detriment of both fields of investigation. Historians deal with the recorded past, going as far back into time as documents and other written records will permit. Archaeologists, on the other hand, deal with the mute testimony of whatever material remains may have been preserved from the past, from the most recent to the most ancient. In both fields attempts are made to piece together the story of the past from incomplete sets of data.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find areas of considerable overlap in the interests and goals of history and archaeology, or to suspect that interdisciplinary cooperation might bring a greater measure of success to investigations in these areas of overlap. Because of this situation several programs of investigation in recent years have combined the talents of historians and archaeologists to obtain a more complete reconstruction of the past.

In the United States, the National Park Service has been primarily, if not entirely, responsible for the development of these historical-archaeological interdisciplinary programs, in an effort to present the best possible interpretations of historical sites to the American public. By far the most extensive of these to date was the program at Jamestown, Virginia, begun in the 1930's and completed in the 1950's. Readers interested in learning more about the Jamestown project should consult the National Park Service booklet *New Discoveries at Jamestown* by J. L. Cotter and J. P. Hudson (1957), or the National Park Service publication *Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*, by J. L. Cotter (Archaeological Research Series Number Four, 1958) for the detailed technical information.

In Arizona the interdisciplinary approach to historical investigation is still in its infancy. In the past our archaeologists have been more interested in prehistoric archaeology, or else have been forced to research their own historic site projects. Now some efforts are being made by Arizona historians and archaeologists alike to work together on projects of mutual interest. One of the earliest historic site archaeology projects in the state, again by the National Park Service, was that at Tumacacori National Monument in 1934. Since that time the Amerind Foundation at Dragoon has excavated the Spanish presidio and mission at Quiburi, and the Arizona State Museum has performed historic site salvage archaeology at the Spanish missions of San Jose del Tucson and Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi in the Santa Cruz Valley, at the Gila Bend Stage Station, and at Fort Lowell. Although a greater or lesser amount of historic research and documentation accompanied all of these projects, it has been only for the Tumacacori, Gila Bend, and Fort Lowell projects that the services of professional historians have been engaged to clothe the archaeological skeleton with historical documentation. Extensive historical research has recently been done

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on the Spanish presidio of Tubac for the Arizona State Parks Board, but funds for the archaeological phase of this work have not been made available.

Whereas history is a written record of what man has thought, or said or done, historic site archaeology is concerned with the identification of crumbling ruins and structures not readily identifiable before excavation, with providing architectural plans and details not yet known historically, or only poorly known, and with digging up much of the range of material culture environment in which a people once lived and which in large part is merely assumed by history to have existed. In this respect historical archaeology recovers much of the information—so often overlooked or ignored by chroniclers—that is essential in determining *how*, in as great detail as possible, a particular group of people once lived. Serving such functions as these, historic site archaeology may be seen as contributing data which will help to provide a three dimensional view of history.

Examples of these various aspects of historic site archaeology may be obtained from current investigations in Arizona. Early in the eighteenth century the Jesuit missionary Father Kino had a small church built at Los Reyes in the Sonoita creek valley, which was administered from the head mission at Guevavi. In later years the Franciscan missionaries also ministered to this community and may have built another church. The village of Los Reyes has never been located. The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society is currently conducting excavations in an old adobe ruin near Patagonia in an attempt to determine if it might represent one or the other of these churches, or neither.

Preliminary archaeological investigation along the officers' row portion of old Fort Lowell near Tucson has provided a substantial body of architectural data which so far has not been found recorded in the old plans and maps of the fort. This information will aid materially in reconstructions planned by the Pima County Parks and Recreation Department, by the Tucson chapter of the Junior League, by the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, and its Historic Sites Committee.

From the National Park Service sponsored excavations in the old stage station at Gila Bend, Arizona State Museum personnel were able to determine that someone once had a bottle of "Ye Olde Rye Whiskey," that someone else had provided himself with a physician's cure for motion sickness (a common ailment in the days of stagecoach travel), that frontier women used perfume and ate from both English and American china, that one person preferred a brand of horse liniment which was called "Mexican Mustang Liniment," put up by a New York firm, while soneone else favored a brand of "Essence of Jamaica Ginger" from a company in San Francisco.

Again from the Fort Lowell evidence, it is evident that whiskey was imported to Tucson in bulk and was bottled locally by an establishment on Congress Street. Of course, in a number of cases identifications or interpretations of the evidence are not nearly so clear. Would it be fair, for example, to accuse the officer at Fort Lowell, whose privy was filled with whiskey bottles, of being a dipsomaniac, or the other officer, whose privy was filled with medicine bottles, of being a hypochondriac? There are probably other explanations that might be more nearly correct.

There is indeed a need for more historic site archaeology in Arizona, for more historical-archaeological interdisciplinary projects, if we are ever to gain an adequate three dimensional picture of the history of the state before it is too late. This need arises from the tremendous population explosion which has occurred since World War II, felt in Arizona in terms of the rapid rates of growth of Phoenix and Tucson, in terms of the thousands of acres of desert that have been plowed up and put into cultivation, in terms of the rapidly expanding number of industrial establishments, and in terms of the programs for interstate highways, hydro-electric plants, and military operations. In the face of this expansion, historic and prehistoric ruins alike are being destroyed every day by "the churning concrete chewing jaws of progress," as Ivor Noël Hume of Colonial Williamsburg so aptly expressed the situation at a recent conference.

In Memoriam

Mrs. Fred W. Brown (1867-1961)
Mr. Stephen D. Brown (1880-1961)
Mr. Frank J. C. Griffin (1901-1960)
Mr. Fred Blair Townsend (1885-1960)
Mrs. Charles Morgan Wood (1873-1961)

VIGNETTES OF ARIZONA PIONEERS

Dedicated to those Arizonians whose deeds have made them legendary . . .

CRAWLEY P. DAKE, U. S. MARSHAL

By G. L. SELIGMANN JR.*

DESPITE THE FACT that he was in poor health as a result of the wounds he received in the Civil War, Crawley P. Dake made the long arduous journey from Michigan to the Arizona Territory. He arrived at Yuma on July 28, 1878 and departed the same day for Prescott, the Territorial Capitol.[1] Commenting upon his arrival in Arizona the (Yuma) *Arizona Sentinel* remarked: "We auger . . . that the Marshall of Arizona is henceforth to amount to something; heretofore the Marshall of Arizona has been regarded as rather a small person—which of course was wrong."[2]

Crawley P. Dake was born in 1827, in Kentfield, Ontario.[3] Within a month of his birth, his parents, who were American citizens, moved to Ogdensburg, New York, where young Dake spent the next eighteen years. In 1855, Dake removed to Romeo, Michigan, where he worked for his elder brother. Shortly afterward, Dake moved to Armada, Michigan, where he owned and operated a general store until the Civil War began. With the outbreak of the Civil War, Dake raised a company and was commissioned a Captain in the Fifth Michigan Cavalry. His promotion to Major became effective on December 31, 1862. Dake was in all the battles of his brigade which included Gettysburg, Wilderness, Cold Harbor and many lesser engagements, such as Cavetown, Smithtown, Williamsport, Kelly's Ford, Culpeper, Raccoon Ford, Jones City, Grundy Station, Bucklands Mountain, Stevensburg, Virginia, Morton's Ford, Beaver Dam Station, Yellow Tavern, Meadow Bridge, Mulford, and Howe's Shop. Due to wounds received in these actions, he submitted his resignation which was accepted on August 19, 1864, at Harper's Ferry.[4]

After his discharge from the Union Army, Dake returned to Michigan where he accepted an appointment as United States Assessor of Internal Revenue for the Second Congressional District of Michigan. He served in this position for several years, until it was abolished. He then accepted the job of Collector of Internal Revenue for the same district in Michigan. In 1876, Dake resigned his position in the Internal Revenue Service to run for the position of State Representative from Macomb County. Although the county had a Democratic majority of approximately 600 voters, he lost the election by only twelve votes. Dake, of course, was a Republican.

What Dake did from November 1876 to June 1878, is not clear, but it is quite possible that he was appointed to some minor governmental job. On June 12, 1878, Dake accepted the position of United States Marshal

From a print in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society. A photograph by N. H. Rose of San Antonio.

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for the Arizona Territory,[5] with his salary dependent upon the fees collected.[6] Crawley P. Dake, the forgotten man in the Earp controversy, falls short of the popular conception of a United States Marshal on the Western Frontier. It is one of the ironies of history that Dake was a man much more likely to be found at home with his wife and child, than carousing in a dance hall or standing in the center of Main Street with his six-guns blazing. Dake was much more a bureaucrat than he was a gun-fighter; furthermore, he was plagued by the hip wound acquired in the Civil War which caused considerable suffering until his death.[7] Dake, therefore, delegated most of the actual enforcement of Federal Law to his deputies.

Zan L. Tidball replaced Dake on July 18, 1882.[8] Dake remained in Prescott where he managed his mining and business interests, until his death on August 9, 1890.[9] In retrospect, Dake appears as an honest, colorless character in an age and an area when either of these characteristics was enough to stamp a politician as unusual.

NOTES

1. (Yuma) *Arizona Sentinel*, Aug. 3, 1878.

2. *Ibid.* In the same article proclaiming the new found importance of the U.S. Marshal's office was the announcement that the Attorney General had refused to accept Dake's original bond. This bond, which had been executed with Michigan sureties, had to be replaced with a bond backed by Arizonians.

3. Unless otherwise stated the biographical information on Dake is taken from the (Prescott) *Arizona Enterprise*, August 3, 1878.

4. See Charles A. Dake in the *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona*, (Chapman Publishing Company: Chicago, 1901), pp. 501-2. This article on Dake's only child contains more information on the elder Dake than on the nominal subject of the biography.

5. *Arizona Reports*, (A.L. Bancroft and Co., San Francisco, 1884), I, p. 6.

6. *Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval in the Service of the United States on the Thirtieth of June, 1879* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1879), I, p. 443. Prior to Dake's appointment, the salary for the U.S. Marshal had been $200.00 a year plus fees. *Register* for 1875, 1877, pp. 440 and 340.

7. (Prescott) *Arizona Enterprise*, September 28, 1878. This issue reports that Dake is suffering from his hip wound and all the accounts of his death agree that this wound was the cause.

8. *Arizona Reports*, loc. cit.

9. (Prescott) *Weekly Courier*, Aug. 11, 1890.

C. S. FLY

By LARRY KELLNER*

LIMITED AUTHENTIC historical material is available on the life of an early and famous photographer of the Arizona Territory, C. S. Fly of Tombstone. We do find, however, that his first name was Camillus, and that he probably was known also as Charles, although there are no actual records to substantiate this latter claim. There is also some speculation that his middle name might have been Sid. However, he will be referred to often as "C. S."[1] throughout this article, as he was called and known by his friends during those blood and thunder days of early Arizona.

C. S. arrived in the Tombstone camp in December, 1879,[2] and while he developed his photography business, he also took an active interest in mining. The Tombstone *Weekly Epitaph* for January 16, 1882, gave the following account of one of his "strikes":

> Arizona Rich Bonanza Developed to Enrich the County
>
> One of Tombstone's most persistent miners is Mr. C. S. Fly, the Fremont Street photographer. He has for the last two years put a large share of his earnings, which have been by no means inconsiderable, into the various prospects around the country, and we are pleased to say he has at last 'struck it.' Two years ago he was the locator of some mines in the Dragoons to the southeast of South Pass, and under the direction of a San Francisco rock sharp sunk a shaft to [a] depth of 80 feet with no good results. Of late, acting upon his own judgment, he commenced to sink upon the outcropping of iron and copper which were so prominent upon his claims, and at a depth of 5 feet has been rewarded with a vein of red oxide and green carbonate, 3 feet wide, that assays 45 percent copper and $25 in copper. Three large samples of this ore were laid upon our table last evening, which for richness are comparable only to the best of Copper Queen. This outcropping can be traced through two of his locations, and from the extent of it, bids fair to make one of the richest mines in the country. We wish Mr. Fly the realization of his most ardent expectations in the outcome of his mines.3

As his photographic interests mounted, and with the fervent desire to photograph the Apaches in Arizona and Mexico, C. S. persuaded General George Crook to permit him and his assistant, a Mr. Chase,[4] to accompany the general and his military unit

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to the Canyon de los Embudos[5] in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. General Crook was on assignment to accept the surrender of Geronimo and his band of renegades. C. S. apparently had great enthusiasm as a photographer, as evidenced in this graphic account by John G. Bourke:

> During this conference, 'Geronimo' appeared nervous and agitated; perspiration, in great beads, rolled down his temples and over his hands; and he clutched from time to time at a buckskin thong which he held tightly in one hand. Mr. Fly, the photographer, saw his opportunity, and improved it fully; he took 'shots' at 'Geronimo' and the rest of the group, and with a 'nerve' that would have reflected undying glory on a Chicago drummer, cooly asked 'Geronimo' and the warriors with him to change positions, and turn their heads or faces, to improve the negative. None of them seemed to mind except 'Chihuahua', who kept dodging behind a tree, but was at last caught by the dropping of the slide.[6]

Many scenes of this trip with General Crook were photographed by C. S., and many were published in a small booklet by his wife.

Upon his return to Tombstone after the expedition into Mexico, Fly continued in his photographic business. On December 17, 1887, he left Tombstone for Florence, Phoenix, and other points in the Territory to exhibit the many pictures he had taken during his eight years in Arizona. While on this trip, which undoubtedly lasted several weeks, he undoubtedly maintained his studio in Tombstone.[7]

Little is known of C. S. from 1887 until 1893, at which time he and his wife apparently left Tombstone and moved to Phoenix, where they opened a studio for business in the Kirkland building on East Washington Street, near Second.[8] His address was listed as 219 East Washington Street,[9] according to the *Phoenix Daily Herald* of 1894. The *Herald* describes his studio as being "handsomely decorated with specimens of his work, and his gallery proper has been built to order and possesses all the requirements for good work."[10]

Among his early day photographs, which were concentrated mainly in southern Arizona, he had some elegant landscape views and street scenes in most of the leading towns in the Territory. He was most famous for his Indian photographs, and these, along with other pictures on a great variety of subjects, were on display in his studio in Phoenix.

After spending about a year in Phoenix, he and Mrs. Fly returned to the Tombstone and Bisbee district. He was elected to a two-year term as sheriff of Cochise County in 1895. One of his first assignments as sheriff was to transport an insane woman to the State asylum at Phoenix on January 17, 1895.[11]

On another occasion he was the victim of an ambush by robbers. A descriptive account is given by Frank M. King as follows:

> This gang of holdup fellers [sic] was overtaken at Skeleton Canyon, an early day outlaw holdup place, but the officers ran into an ambush. The outlaws opened fire from the heavy brush beside the road that the officers passed through as they entered the canyon. Frank Robson, a government mounted inspector of customs, who had joined the posse as it passed through Bisbee, was shot center between the eyes and instantly killed. His horse was grabbed by one of the robbers and taken with them as they rode away. The sheriff, who was a photographer and had had no man-hunting experience, was demoralized by the sudden attack and called his posse off and let the robbers escape.
>
> A short time after the outlaws had gone, John Slaughter, big cattleman and noted former sheriff of Cochise County at Tombstone, rode up from his San Bernadino Ranch, not far away, accompanied by my brother Sam, who was at time a United States Customs line rider. When Slaughter

C. S. Fly (on horseback) leading honorary services held for President Garfield. Many G.A.R. veterans who had fought under leadership of Garfield were present. Photo taken near Bisbee in 1881 when camp's population was about 150.

heard about the officers having been ambushed, he said,

'I say, you are a fine bunch of officers. If there was any ambushin' to be done, why in heck didn't you do it yourselves?'[12]

After fulfilling his job as sheriff and until the time of his death, he settled down on a ranch in Fly's Park, located in the Chiricahua Mountains. Here "he had a few stock and a large garden in which he grew potatoes, cabbage, strawberries, and just about everything that would grow at that altitude somewhere around 9,000 feet."[13] A mountain nearby bears his name.[14]

Death came to this well-known and respected photographer at Bisbee at 10:00 a.m. on October 12, 1901. The remains were taken to Tombstone for interment. "Upon arrival of the body the A.O.U.W. of this city will take charge, under whose direction the obsequies will be conducted. Mr. Fly is a pioneer of Tombstone . . . where he has resided ever since sharing life's vicissitudes and leaving his survivors to speak the kindliest words of him."[15]

A great many of the pictures and negatives that were left behind by C. S. Fly were secured for the State by Miss Sharlot Hall, historian. They were stored in the basement of the Capitol during Historian Farish's time. Many other pictures, with the caption "C. S. Fly, Tombstone" at the bottom are to be found at the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society in Tucson.

NOTES

1. Judge Hancock, biographical file, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society.
2. *The Tombstone Prospector*, Oct. 12, 1901.
3. (Tombstone) *Weekly Epitaph*, Jan. 16, 1882.
4. John G. Bourke. *On the Border With Crook* (Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1902), p. 474.
5. Hancock, *loc. cit.*
6. Bourke, *loc. cit.*, p. 476.
7. *Tombstone Epitaph*, Dec. 17, 1887.
8. *The Arizona Daily Gazette*, (Phoenix), Dec. 28, 1893.
9. *Phoenix Daily Herald*, Jan. 15, 1894.
10. *Ibid.*
11. (Phoenix) *Arizona Republican*, Jan. 17, 1895.
12. Frank M. King, *Wranglin' The Past* (Haynes Corporation: Los Angeles, 1935), pp. 212-13.
13. (Portal) *Chiricahua Bullsheet*, Oct. 8, 1958.
14. Byrd H. Granger. *Arizona Place Names* (University of Arizona Press: Tucson, 1960), p. 38.
15. *Tombstone Prospector, loc. cit.*

JOHN W. SWILLING

By ANDREW WALLACE*

ARIZONA'S PIONEER historian James McClintock called Jack Swilling "the typical desperado of the old-time days." This characterization has stuck with him through the years, although John W. Swilling deserves a deeper niche in the territorial history of Arizona. Because he was not a pioneer in the popular pattern, he is never likely to have it. He was a restless adventurer, disinterested or careless of his domestic ties; a Confederate rebel; and in his last years an alcoholic and drug addict. Yet his accomplishments and real character are worthy of memory.

Born in Georgia in the year 1831,[1] his family moved to Missouri in about the year 1853. Sometime in his early twenties, Jack married and settled down to a life of farming. This lasted for about four years while apparently he acquired a taste for frontier violence and liquor. The death of his wife removed all constraints to his restless nature, and about the year 1857 he left his young daughter and rode alone down into the raw, young state of Texas.[2]

The next two years of Swilling's life were probably spent in and around El Paso, southern New Mexico and southwest Texas. At any rate he gained a knowledge of the country sufficent to find employment with the newly organized Butterfield Overland Mail Company, then commencing operations across New Mexico Territory between Tucson and El Paso. Unfortunately for all concerned, sectional rivalry caused the removal of the stage and mail line on the eve of the Civil War. By July, 1861, Swilling was without a job, and Texas had seceded from the Union.

As his later conduct demonstrated, Jack Swilling was probably more a Rebel out of sympathy with his native state than from any deep convictions. In either case he enlisted in the Confederate Texas force which invaded New Mexico in 1861. Whether he joined the 2d Texas Mounted Rifles of Colonel Baylor while they were still in Texas, or wheth-

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er he offered his services after they reached Mesilla or even later is not known. In any case it was a measure of his reputation and ability that he was appointed a lieutenant in a battalion commanded by Captain Sherod Hunter in the first weeks of 1862.[3] This detachment was ordered by General Sibley to march westward and occupy Tucson, which was thought to be entirely of secessionist sentiments and a good base for further operations on Fort Yuma later.

Captain Hunter's troopers, perhaps a hundred strong, reached the Old Pueblo on February 28, 1862, and took possession in the name of the Confederate States of America. Sibleys' estimate of the local feelings was pretty near correct, as not a hand was lifted in resistance. However, by early April the advance guard of the California Column of General Carleton was nearing Tucson. Progress of the main body was very slow, owing to the infantry elements, and Colonel West commanding the cavalry advance guard ordered a patrol to reconnoitre the road to Tucson, which they suspected was in Confederate hands. What they did not know was that Hunter had temporarily moved his command to the Pima Villages, seventy-five miles northwest of Tucson, and when Captain McCleave with nine men of the 1st California Volunteer Cavalry approached the friendly Indian settlement, they were taken by the Rebels. After some days elapsed, and McCleave failed to return, Colonel West elected to send a larger detachment under Captain Calloway up the Gila valley to rescue McCleave and learn the true situation. This set the stage for the "battle" of Picacho.[4]

Lieutenant Jack Swilling was in charge of an outpost with sixteen men that Sherod Hunter had prudently placed in the vicinity of Picacho Pass while the rest of the Texans had fallen back on Tucson.[5] When Captain Calloway arrived at the Pima Villages, he learned of the Confederate outposts and decided to capture them. For this purpose he sent Lieutenant James Barrett and twelve men to the Pass on April 15. Lieutenant Swilling's men were apparently dismounted and in the open below the gentle south slope of the Pass when Barrett's Californians approached. They may have been genuinely surprised; or else they set an ambush, for Swilling withdrew his party on foot into the chaparrel. Barrett charged, and from their brushy cover they delivered a deadly fire which killed Barrett and two others. The Yankees beat a hasty retreat, carrying with them three of Swilling's men taken prisoner in the first rush. Swilling's detachment hurried back to Tucson to warn Hunter of the approaching Union column.[6]

The Confederate invasion was short lived. Captain Hunter's Texans withdrew at once after learning of the Californians' presence on the Gila, and Tucson became Union territory again on May 20. Hunter's troops were harassed by the Apaches in their retreat and forced to abandon much equipment. They must also have lost a good many disheartened volunteers; for after the Confederates retired from New Mexico in August, Swilling stayed in the Territory. Within a few weeks he was a civilian again and busy carrying the express for the Union soldiers and probably serving as a guide.

The center of Swilling's activities in the following winter was Fort McLane near modern Silver City, New Mexico. To this place in January, 1863, came the old mountain man, trapper and horse trader, Joseph Reddeford Walker, leading a prospecting expedition from Pueblo, Colorado. This out-

Reproduced from the book: *Arizona the Youngest State* by Col. James H. McClintock

fit intended to descend the mountains from New Mexico into southern Arizona, and from there travel to the Hassyampa and into unexplored central Arizona in their search for gold. Swilling was ever eager for any such undertaking and joined the Walker party, which now numbered over thirty men.

While the erstwhile gold-seekers rested their stock and prepared for their journey, information was received that there was a sizeable band of Apaches in the neighborhood of Pinos Altos mines, about twenty-five miles westward. It was said that the Indians' leader was none other than the venerable chief Mangas Colorados. Captain Walker at once offered to help the Union troops there under command of Captain Shirland, and on the 16th and 17th of January a large party of soldiers and civilians, Jack Swilling among them, set out to capture the wily old Indian, dead or alive. Swilling in fact may have been the leader of the party.

Subsequent accounts differ as to how Mangas met his death in the hands of the soldiers, but most accounts agree that it was Swilling who went to bring him in alone while the other white men watched from cover about a hundred and fifty yards away. According to Daniel Connor, an eyewitness, Jack Swilling greeted the Indians with a war-whoop, then advanced and placed a hand on the huge chief's shoulder. They conversed briefly in Spanish, after which the two men returned to the concealed party of whites. "Swilling, though six feet tall," says Connor, "looked like a boy beside Mangas." The great chief had told his bodyguard to retire, and the whites hurried off with their captive. Afterwards Mangas Colorados was murdered by the soldiers to whom Walker gave him as an honorable prisoner.[7]

Following this little campaign, the Walker expedition set off down the Butterfield Trail through Apache Pass to Tucson, then across Oatman's Flat to the Hassyampa. This latter stream they slowly ascended until it was spring, when they decided to fort up at a site just south of present-day Prescott. It is difficult today to visualize the wilderness of central Arizona in 1863 or to appreciate the courage and ability of the Walker pioneers. The mountains north and west of the Mogollon Rim were virtually unknown to white men and were the stronghold of Apaches who every day became more brazen in their depredations on the few unprotected white settlements then remaining in Arizona. The Walker pioneers opened the land to mineral exploration and soon attracted other prospecting parties.

It was during these days that Swilling laid the foundation for his future wealth. He is reputed to have been one of the discoverers of the Rich Hill mine near Weaver Creek, and his name is associated with several other rich placers that were quickly worked out. Eventually the city of Prescott was to rise in this mining country, but the Walker company (which had a loose organization designed mainly to protect claims) dissolved itself in 1864. In the next two years Jack Swilling was very profitably engaged in mining and milling operations around the Wickenburg camp.

Whether his mining claims played out or he simply wanted a more solid business investment is not certain. But in 1867 Swilling began the project that was to result in the settlement of Phoenix and Tempe. In his travels in the years 1863-66, he had noticed that hay and grain could be grown quite well in the Salt River valley near Fort McDowell. He observed the abundant water and the ancient abandoned Indian irrigation canals east of the confluence of Salt, Gila and Santa Cruz Rivers. He reasoned that they could again be made to carry water for irrigation, and in 1867 Swilling organized an informal stock company to finance construction. The first successful canal in the Salt valley was completed next year and soon became known as the "Swilling Ditch. Settlers quickly flocked into the vicinity, more canals were dug, and a thriving farming community arose. At the suggestion of a more learned friend, one Darrell Duppa, Swilling named the place "Phoenix" after the mythological bird. In 1871 Swilling also built the Tempe canal.[8] His farm prospered, he married again and might have stayed on as a respected civic leader, but such a role was not his liking. In 1871 or '72 he moved up into the Black Canyon country along the Agua Fria and began mining again.

Jack Swilling's mining ventures were a novelty in that they were uniformly successful. About forty miles east of Wickenburg he located a farm and soon had struck pay-dirt in the Bradshaw Mountains. In the next four or five years he farmed, worked several mines, and bought and sold other properties.[9] His wife bore him five children. A new town was founded near the Swilling

residence called Gillett, and the country filled up with settlers, mostly attracted by the mines, but many solid citizens. Jack moved his family into town, and here at last he might have retired into a peaceful middle age, happy and prosperous. The Puritan moralists will aver that Demon Rum was his downfall.

By Swilling's own admission he had acquired the morphine habit after taking the drug to relieve the pain of a severe head wound which he received in a brawl.[10] Apparently this happened before he left Missouri, and certainly he was an addict by the time he was founding Phoenix. He was also fond of whisky and periodic sprees during which his drunken fun would include all manner of fights, shooting and general riot. By all accounts he was a steady, likeable, big courageous man while sober; but the combined effects of whisky and morphine could render him unmanageable. To the sorrow of his friends the habit grew more compulsive after he moved to Gillett. In April, 1878, a stagecoach was held up and robbed near Wickenburg; in a drunken moment, Swilling loudly declaimed that he and a companion had done it as a joke. They were promptly arrested and carried to Yuma for interrogation.

Through the summer of 1878 Swilling was confined in the Yuma prison since the investigation moved very slowly. Probably the sudden withdrawal from drugs sickened him. Not all testimony had been taken and no indictment for the robbery had been returned when Jack Swilling died on August 12. Later, when all the evidence was at last in, it was clear that the two men were innocent, but Swilling had died under a cloud of disgrace difficult to dispel.[11]

NOTES

1. The place and exact date of birth is rather difficult to ascertain. J. C. McClintock in *Arizona: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern* (Chicago, 1916), credits Mississippi as the place, but this is almost certainly incorrect. Other writers have variously credited North Carolina and Georgia. Farish and most others say Georgia. It is definitely known that the original Swilling came from Germany to Georgia in the mid-18th Century.

2. About the same time the other Swillings moved to Arkansas. The major facts of Swilling's biography are conveniently read in T. E. Farish's *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1915), v. 2, pp. 251-257 *et passim*.

3. Hubert H. Bancroft stated that "Baylor's Confederate force was . . . 800 Texans, besides 200 or 300 volunteers from . . . Mesilla Valley." See his *Works*, v. 27, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 689. Since Hunter's group was usually referred to as the "volunteers" and Swilling's name does not appear on the original 2d Texas muster roll, it is likely Swilling joined at Mesilla or even later.

4. There are many accounts of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico Territory (then including Arizona) but they are uniformly bad. The outstanding exception is Robert Lee Kerby's *The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona, 1861-1862* (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1958), pp. 77-79, 120-25.

5. This is the popularly accepted story. As a matter of fact there is a letter sent by Captain Hunter along with the prisoner McCleave and one other Northern agent, under date of April 5, to Colonel Baylor which informs Baylor of the events in Arizona and indicates that Swilling is in charge of the prisoners. If Swilling escorted prisoners from Tucson to Mesilla starting April 5, he could not possibly have been at Picacho Pass ten days later. Since we know Swilling deserted the Confederate forces later in New Mexico, it is possible he left Tucson on April 5 and never rejoined Hunter's command. The Hunter letter to Baylor may be consulted in the *Official Records* of the War of the Rebellion: Series I, v. 9, pp. 707-708.

6. Kerby, *op. cit.*, is very brief on this skirmish, and the *Official Records* give no details at all. I have followed here the version in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 513-14. Cf. F. Stanley, *The Civil War in New Mexico* (Denver, 1960), pp. 173-74. Mr. George Baylor, Jr., of Tucson has made an exhaustive study of the affair and come to the conclusion that none of the versions are absolutely correct and that Swilling was not present.

7. There are differing accounts of the capture and death of Mangas, but I have accepted Connor's account in D. J. Berthong & Odessa Davenport, eds. of Daniel Ellis Connor, *Joseph Reddeford Walker and the Arizona Adventure* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1956). The account of Clark B. Stocking, a soldier, may be found in McClintock, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

8. Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 338-39. Stephen C. Shadegg, "The Miracle of Water in the West," *Arizona Highways*, July, 1942.

9. Swilling's name is often associated with the Tip-Top Mine, but he never owned it; see Patrick C. Henderson, "A History of the Bradshaw Mining Districts" (unpub. M.A. thesis, Univ. of Arizona, 1958).

10. Swilling's "last statement" in the *Prescott Miner*, Sept. 13, 1878; also printed in Farish, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-57.

11. Interesting light on the investigation and a summary of the facts may be read in the *Arizona Sentinel*, June 22, July 20, 27, Aug. 3, 24, 1878.

WANTED

A REASONABLY recent set of encyclopaedias for use in the Historical Society reading room. SOME GOOD general histories of the United States for use in the research library and reading room.

A DELINEASCOPE for use in showing the 4 x 4 slides in the lectures given the school children.

A CIVIL WAR EPISODE IN CALIFORNIA-ARIZONA HISTORY

By LEO P. KIBBY*

IN THE WESTWARD expansion of the United States, Arizona has always been, geographically speaking, an important southern gateway to California and the Pacific Coast. This has been true whether our thinking has been identified with early explorers like General Kearney and the "Pathfinder" Frémont, or with the mass movement of peoples like the Forty-niners, or with specific industrial developments such as the construction of railroads and highways. This geographical proximity has meant, therefore, that the history of California and Arizona has been one of intimate relationship. In historical perspective numerous incidents tend to support this view: incidents involved in the expansion of slavery; controversies on border disputes in the interstate passage of peoples and goods; and vexing questions that have risen in connection with the regulation of the waters of the Colorado River. An interesting episode involving California and Arizona occurred in the early years of the Civil War. Arizona was occupied by California Volunteers in service with the Union, and a government under martial law was established at Tucson.

Leading up to the incident of occupation were noteworthy historical developments, some of which were deeply rooted in national policy whereas others were of a more local or regional nature. Arizona was then a part of the Territory of New Mexico. California, on the other hand, was already a state, having been admitted to the Union in 1850. Pony Express and United States Mail routes through Arizona to California had been established and were in operation. Yuma was, even as today, identified with a connecting route to California, and Fort Yuma was just across the Colorado River in California. The slavery question, of primary significance in westward expansion, had been settled in California by means of a provision in the state constitution prohibiting slave ownership, and because a major agreement in the Compromise of 1850 sanctioned the admission of California to the Union as a free state. Paradoxically, by the same Compromise an uncertainty existed concerning both the actual and destined status of slavery in Arizona. For the remainder of the 1850's the slavery question continued to be a dominant problem in American politics.

When the Civil War broke out in April 1861, the Confederate government realized the immense importance of gaining complete control of the entire area west of Texas and extending to the Pacific Coast. As one Confederate officer remarked: "The vast mineral resources of Arizona, in addition to its affording an outlet to the Pacific, make its acquisition a matter of some importance to our Government, . . ."[1] Immediately, military action was taken by the South to accomplish this objective. In July, 1861, an initial step was taken by General Henry H. Sibley who was authorized by the Confederate government to go to Texas for the purpose of organizing a brigade of troops for the conquest of New Mexico.[2] Shortly, another advance was made when Lieut. Col. John R. Baylor, CSA, on August 1, 1861, organized the "Arizona Territory" at Mesilla under a military government with himself as military governor.[3] In his official proclamation, Colonel Baylor took possession in the name and behalf of the Confederacy and designated the city of Mesilla on the Rio Grande River as the seat of government for the Territory.[4] At first the Territory of Arizona was to include all portions of New Mexico south of the 34th parallel of latitude. Later the limits were extended to the parallel of 36° 30′, thence due west to the Colorado and down the stream to its mouth.[5] The outlook for realizing the military objectives now appeared promising to the South. Even more so must this have appeared true to Colonel Baylor, who reported later that California was on the eve of a revolution and had many Southern men "who would cheerfully join us, if they could get to us, and they would come well armed and mounted."[6] Another major effort at Confederate control of the region came when Capt. Sherod Hunter, in command of about 100 Confederate cavalry, entered Tucson on the 28th of February, 1862.[7] Only a short time earlier it had been rumored

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that there were already over 1,000 Southern troops in the city.[8] Tucson in 1862 was a city with a population of about 400 or 500 people. Most of these were Mexicans, though there were a few Americans and foreigners residing there who were presumed to be sympathetic to the South.[9]

Now the state of California was to raise a volunteer organization to aid the Union, and its most colorful unit was the one which became known as the "California Column." The unit consisted of over 2,000 officers and men under the command of Col. James H. Carleton. Originally, it had been raised for the purpose of guarding the Overland Mail Route extending through Salt Lake City.[10] But when the Commander of the Department of the Pacific, Col. George Wright, learned of the Confederate occupation of New Mexico and Arizona, he suggested to General McClellan in Washington that the California unit would serve a better purpose were its assignment changed so as to allow it to help in driving the rebels out of Arizona.[11] Thus the original orders were changed, and the trek of the famous California Column became identified with Arizona history. Weeks before the orders were changed, however, Colonel Baylor had sensed the trend of events and had expressed the opinion that California troops were on their way to the Arizona Territory. He would do all in his power, he said, to "hold the country against all odds."[12]

Henceforth, the story of the California Column reads like fiction. Starting from Los Angeles on April 13, 1862, en route to the Río Grande River, the Column soon arrived at Fort Yuma. Here supplies were received and stored for military use,[13] and an effort was made to prevent Confederate sympathizers, regardless of origin, from continuing into California by requiring all persons first to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.[14]

The military journey across Arizona was characterized by many severe problems: weather, mountains, lack of water, hunger, fatigue, alkali dust, maintenance of military equipment, and unfriendly Indians who continually harrassed the soldiers. Proper preparations had to be made to cope with these adversaries. Confederate military units were also known to be entrenched here and there, yet they retreated before the Column as it moved eastward through Arizona.[15]

The possession and control of the city of Tucson was important to both the North and the South. The skirmish at Pichaco Pass in April, 1862, was the most significant contact of forces in Arizona. By May, 1862, Colonel Carleton believed the Confederates were not in any considerable force at Tucson. Hence he authorized Col. Joseph R. West to take the city, and once taken, he reminded West: "it must be held as one of the steps toward the Rio Grande. . . ."[16] When the advance guard of the Column under Colonel West arrived there on May 20, 1862, it was able to take the city "without firing a shot."[17] Now Carelton reported: "All the secession troops who were in the Territory and all the secessionists, so far as we can learn, have fled—the troops to the Rio Grande, the citizens to Sonora [Mexico]."[18]

Certain effects of the Confederate occupation remained nonetheless, and conceivably could prove obnoxious or perhaps fatal to Union planning: organized crime prevailed, lawlessness continued, and personal and property rights were being violated. When Colonel Carleton himself arrived at Tucson on June 7, 1862, he immediately inaugurated measures designed to correct these evils. Foremost, perhaps, was the setting up of a Federal "Territory of Arizona" under martial law. In his proclamation Carleton pointed out that Arizona was in a chaotic state: with no civil officers to administer the laws and with an absence of all civil authority, there was no security of life or property within its borders. Thus Carelton assigned himself as military governor, placed the area under martial law, and assumed control "until such time as the President of the United States shall otherwise direct."[19] Supplementing these acts, Carleton set up three rules for the government of the people of Arizona: first, all residents must take an oath of loyalty to the United States; second, disloyal acts and words will not be tolerated or allowed to go unpunished if sufficient proof can be established; third, residents must have some lawful calling or legitimate means of support.[20]

Almost simultaneously with the continued advance of the California Column, the walls of Confederate planning crumbled in Arizona and adjacent areas. Sibley's forces withdrew from the Río Grande in May, 1862.[21] Though it had been reported in January, 1862, that Colonel Baylor would march into Arizona with 900 troops to confiscate all

property not belonging to citizens of the Confederacy,[22] his forces soon were routed by Federal troops in New Mexico and he had fled.[23] Captain Hunter, with his eighty men, evacuated Tucson on May 4 and was "last heard of on the 18th instant at Dragoon Springs in full retreat for Mesilla."[24]

Though forced to withdraw from Arizona, the Confederate authorities continued to entertain the hope of returning and recovering their loss. Major-Gen. John Bankhead Magruder in March, 1863, indicated at Galveston he had been directed by the Confederate Secretary of War "to take steps to recover Arizona."[25] Later in the year Judge Lansford W. Hastings of California was in the South, and advanced a fantastic proposal directly to President Davis for the overthrow of Federal forces in Arizona and the repossession of that area for the Confederacy.[26] In brief, Hasting's proposal would have been for him to raise volunteers in California, disguised as mine workers for Arizona mines, and have them rendezvous at the juncture of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. They would then reduce Fort Yuma, capture the Federal troops and military posts in Arizona, and hold the area permanently for the Confederacy.[27] The plan apparently was too weird for any really serious consideration by the Confederate authorities. Both Secretary of War James A. Seddon[28] and Gen. Edmund Kirby Smith,[29] commander of Confederate forces in the West, registered little faith or enthusiasm in its practicality. By this time the Federal Congress had officially created the Territory of Arizona (Feb. 24, 1863), and John N. Goodwin was established at Prescott as governor.

Late in the war, in November, 1864, the superintendent of one of the large mines in Arizona, M. O. Davidson, informed General Irvin McDowell, now commander of the Federal Department of the Pacific (with headquarters in San Francisco), that a band of Confederates was encamped in Sonora, awaiting reenforcements in preparation for an attack on military posts in Arizona, including Tucson. "If they are successful in such a raid," he said, "they will for a while have the southern portion of Arizona at their mercy."[30] McDowell indicated his concern by forwarding Davidson's note to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton with the comment that it was his belief that Sonora was a place of rendezvous for Confederates. It was McDowell's belief also that, should difficulty arise in Arizona, the men and supplies to meet it must come from the Department of the Pacific. Concluding, McDowell added that "Arizona is dependent on California," and requested that the Territory again be placed under the protection of the Department of the Pacific.[31] On January 18, 1865, General Halleck approved the request;[32] the next day, January 19, after final authorization by order of the Secretary of War, the Arizona Territory came under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Pacific.[33]

The ending of the Civil War on April 9, 1865, brought to a close a most colorful episode in California-Arizona history.

NOTES

1. Baylor to Van Horn, Aug. 14, 1861.—*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* I, 4, pp. 22-3. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880. Series I-IV, 128 vols.) Hereinafter cited as *OR*, followed by series in Roman numeral, volume in Arabic numerals, the part number (if any), and the pages.
2. Latham Anderson, "Canby's Services in the New Mexican Campaign," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War . . .* (4 vols.; Grant-Lee Edition; New York: The Century Co., 1884-1888), II, pt. 2, pp. 697-699. See also T. T. Teel, "Sibley's New Mexican Campaign—Its Objects and the Causes of Its Failure," *ibid.*, p. 700.
3. Baylor's Proclamation to the People of the Territory of Arizona, Aug. 1, 1861, *OR*, I, 4, pp. 20-21.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Baylor to Van Horn, Aug. 14, 1861, *loc. cit.*
6. Baylor to Major Davis, Nov. 2, 1861, *OR*, I, 4, p. 149.
7. Carleton to Wright, Mar. 22, 1862, *OR*, I, 50, pt. 1, pp. 944-45.
8. Martin to Hinton, Jan. 9, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 823-24.
9. Report of Surgeon James M. McNulty, October [?], 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 136-145.
10. Cameron to Governor of California, July 24, 1861, *ibid.*, p. 543.
11. Wright to Thomas, Dec. 9, 1861, *ibid.*, pp. 752-53.
12. Baylor's Report dated Sept. 24, 1861, *OR*, I, 4, pp. 109-10.
13. Carleton to Drum, Dec. 17, 1861, *OR*, I, 50, pt. 1, p. 769.
14. Carleton to West, Oct. 6, 1861, Richard H. Orton, (comp.) *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1867.* (Sacramento: State Office, 1890), p. 323.
15. *Infra.*
16. Carleton to West, May 2, 1862, *OR*, I, 50, pt. 1, pp. 1045-47.
17. Carleton to Drum, May 25, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 88-9.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Proclamation of James H. Carleton, June 8, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 96-7.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Carleton to Bowie, May 25, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 1098.

22. Clymer to Rigg, Jan. 9, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 811-12.
23. Walker to Rigg, Mar. 1, 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 898-99.
24. West to Cutler, May 21, 1862, *ibid.*, p. 1088.
25. Magruder to Gen. S. Cooper, Mar. 2, 1863, *OR*, I, 50, pt. 2, 332.
26. Seddon to Smith, Oct. 15, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 648-49.
27. Hastings to President Davis, Dec. 16, 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 700-1.
See also Hastings to Davis, Jan. 11, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 721.
28. Seddon to Smith, Oct. 15, 1863, *loc. cit.*
29. Smith to Seddon, Nov. 22, 1863, *ibid.*, p. 681.
30. Davidson to McDowell, Nov. 29, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 1080.
31. McDowell to Stanton, Dec. 22, 1864, *ibid.*, p. 1104.
32. Halleck's approval and recommendation, Jan. 18, 1865, *ibid.*, p. 1104.
33. War Department Order, Jan. 19, 1865, *ibid.*, p. 1105.

OVERSTOCKING OF THE RANGES IN SOUTHERN ARIZONA DURING THE 1870's AND 1880's†

By J. J. WAGONER*

STOCK RANCHING HAS always been a frontier industry and has served a place of primary importance in the advancement of western civilization. In the Southwest, two phases of development seem to predominate: (1) the merging of the northward expansion of the Spanish and Mexicans and the westward movement from the Atlantic Coast; and (2) the adaptability of the industry to an arid country which for the first time gave the cattleman an opportunity for land utilization that the farmer could not easily supplant.

Both phases permeate the entire history of the cattle industry in southern Arizona, but the second became more important with the rapid influx of population after the subjugation of the Apaches in the 1870's. It is the purpose of this paper to show how the grasslands of southern Arizona (namely that area south of the Gila River) became fully stocked by the mid '80's and obviously overstocked with the process of vegetative destruction well underway by 1890.

As background to subsequent development it should be mentioned that most of the herds in Arizona Territory during the 1870's were driven in from Texas and California to supply the federal troops and Indians with beef. Advertisements in the *Arizona Citizen* would indicate that the business was lucrative. Requests for bids to furnish several thousand head to the army or the Bureau of Indian Affairs were not uncommon. However, the largest supplier of beef, the contracting firm of Hinds and Hooker, often lost money because of depredations on their herds by Indian and Sonoran thieves.[1] Another difficulty arose from the failure of Congress to provide sufficient funds.[2] It is certain that the government's peace policy would have been jeopardized if enterprising cattlemen such as Henry Clay Hooker had not managed to supply the needs of the reservations as well as the public demand.

While the Indians were being reconciled to their reservations, the fame of Arizona's grazing lands had been widely spread. Hundreds of emigants were coming into the new cow country to begin an experimental exploitation of the luxuriant grasslands. They settled along the rivers where there was water and an abundance of native forage. They ran their cattle on the unfenced and unregulated public domain. Though they did not own the land or grass, it was understood among neighbors that the appropriation of water entailed the possession of certain range rights.

Most of the cattle in Arizona at this time were of the low beef-producing Mexican breeds. The largest single herd, however, was Hooker's Texas animals.[3] Also a heavy shipment of American cattle came from California because of drought conditions in that state. The reduction of railroad rates to Yuma for suffering stock expedited the movement. From Yuma the beeves were brought up the Gila and spread over the valleys of Southern Arizona.[4]

The census of 1880 showed that thousands of cattle had been imported from the states and Mexico to graze the Arizona ranges. Territorial Governor A.P.K. Safford was en-

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thusiastically reporting that stock raising had become one of the leading industries.[5] It is doubtful, however, that many people would have predicted a twenty-fold increase in the cattle population by the time another census was taken. Several factors contributed to this exploitation of the grasslands in the 1880's.

The completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1881 was of paramount importance; not only were grazing lands opened to prospective cattlemen, but the possibility of transportation to eastern markets was provided and subsequently utilized.[6] Shipments from Texas were especially numerous because of the passage of the Texas land laws of 1879 and 1883, which initiated a mandatory leasing system providing for the payment of nominal fees. Texas ranchers objected to the new system and many of them moved their herds to Arizona where they found unrestricted grazing. The only check on this movement resulted from apprehension over the prevalence of Texas cattle fever in the summer of 1884.[7]

It was inevitable that the large influx of cattle into Arizona would result in overstocking of the ranges. Prior to the introduction of these herds there was an abundant plant growth everywhere.[8] On the high plateaus pine, brome, and winter wheat grasses formed a continuous covering on the ground. In the canyons and over the foothills which surround the numerous mountain ranges was copious vegetation consisting mainly of the renowned grama and mesquite grasses. Shrubs choked with tangled growths of black grama were found everywhere.

Below altitudes of 4000 feet, Indian wheat and other winter annuals thrived, and the so-called "six weeks" grass furnished summer and fall plants. In the moist valleys, tall sacaton grass predominated and provided a protective soil covering which prevented erosion by obstructing the runoff of water. Many of the older settlers can remember when these flood plains were intact and were covered with rich grasses instead of the scattered sage, greasewood, or mesquite so common today.

Patrick Hamilton, a one man Territorial Chamber of Commerce, wrote in his *Resources of Arizona* that the native grasses were inexhaustible and could support a cattle population of over seven and one half million head.[9] The evidence, however, indicates that the depletion of Arizona's ranges was contemporaneous with the development of ranching. Unfortunately, the primary objective of cattlemen was numbers; overstocking resulted from the unrestricted use of the federal range before the cattle census reached a fifth of the figure that Hamilton considered a reasonable estimate.

The erosion which resulted from overgrazing in the valleys of Southern Arizona occurred over a considerable time, and the details of the process have seldom been recorded. But the change from aggradation and the building of flood plains to channel-trenching can be placed in the 1880's in most of the important valleys, though many tributaries were not affected until the nineties. Since the changes were initiated at slightly different times in the various localities, it seems imperative to trace the early development of the cattle industry in each of the main areas of settlement.

The Santa Cruz Valley was the center of the first American occupation. In 1870 there were few cattlemen in this area. A dozen Mexicans each ran from 20 to 75 head of cattle in the valley. Hooker had left a few animals with the Papago Indians and the firm of Maish and Driscoll had brought 400 Mexican cattle from Sonora to a point on the Santa Cruz just south of Tucson. In the early '70's however, the number of livestock in the valley increased more rapidly. By 1873 there were at least 2,000 head of horned cattle between Tucson and Sahuarita, a distance of about 20 miles.[10] By the end of the decade most of the old Mexican ranch sites had been re-established and nearly every water claim which was adaptable to the business had livestock. The largest ranches were Anglo-American, running on the average from 500 to 800 cattle each.[11]

Needless to say, many changes took place in the range lands as a result of this new grazing. The record dates back nearly 300 years to the description of the luxuriant Santa Cruz grasses by Arizona's first stockman, the Jesuit missionary Father Kino.[12] Much later, just a few years before the heavy influx of cattlemen, J. Ross Browne wrote as follows in his well-known book, *The Apache Country*:

> The valley of the Santa Cruz is one of the richest and most beautiful grazing and agricultural regions I have ever seen. Occasionally the river sinks, but even at these points the grass is abundant and luxuriant. We traveled, league after league, through waving fields of grass, from two to four feet high, and this at a season when cattle

were dying of starvation all over the middle and southern parts of California.[13]

In addition to the accounts of missionaries and travelers, there are also geological survey and other scientific reports available. However, the descriptions of oldtimers who have written their memoirs give us perhaps our best picture of the Santa Cruz grasslands during the 1870's. According to them, the ranges at that time had a thick growth of sacaton and other vegetation which prevented the cutting of channels as the water spread out slowly during times of flood, doing no damage. One pioneer, George W. Atkinson, who settled at Calabasas in 1877, even went so far as to say that there were so few cattle and such an abundance of feed on the range that farmers never considered it necessary to fence their cultivated fields.[14] But as cattle were brought in, the ranges were overstocked and unable to stop either the floods or the resultant process of erosion.[15]

Another region which was once covered with good growth of grass is the Rillito Valley, a tributary of the Santa Cruz. The river course was indefinite and lined by an almost continuous growth of cottonwood, ash, walnut and willow trees. These conditions prevailed until after 1872 at which time the United States Army post was moved from Tucson further east, near which natural grass could be cut for hay. A few years of such cropping, as well as overgrazing by cattle that were brought in during the '70's, resulted in the destruction of the root grasses. The effect of settlement in the valley was to increase the rapidity of runoff and thus the length of dry seasons. The stage was set for the drastic erosion of the '90's.[16]

The next general area of occupation was east of Tucson between the Santa Rita and Whetstone Mountains. This broad, rolling land has few streams but is fortunate in having permanent water at the base of the Santa Ritas. There are also many natural reservoirs and springs. So in spite of the harsh winter winds and powerful summer heat, several large ranches were located in these lands by 1880. Among them was the Empire Ranch of Vail, Hislop and Harvey, the so-called "English boys," which was grazing 5,000 head. Another was the Cienega Ranch which had 1,000 cattle plus 23,000 sheep.[17] Edward L. Vail described this region as being a succession of meadows thickly covered with sacaton and salt grass in 1880. The mesquite had not yet taken over the country, but grew in gulches where it checked erosion.[18]

Another area of development was the San Pedro Valley extending north from Mexico to the Gila River. By 1880 it was occupied by scattered herds belonging to Mexicans, Mormons and cattlemen from California and Texas. Most of the holdings were from 50 to 250 head each. The notable exceptions were two Texan herds. One herd of 2,500 was owned by the famous John Slaughter and grazed in the Mule Pass. The other herd, consisting of 3,600 head, was on the Babocomari Ranch, located on a tributary of the San Pedro.[20]

Destruction of the ranges came later in the San Pedro Valley than in most of the other areas in southern Arizona. Kirk Bryan, who made a study of erosion in this area for the U. S. Geological Survey, said that progressive deterioration began in the 1880's and was well under way by 1892. The valley, originally covered by sacaton grass and groves of trees, was changed into a forest of mesquite by the gully-cutting process.[21]

There were other areas of settlement such as the Sulphur Springs Valley in southeastern Arizona and the less desirable Gila Valley from the Santa Cruz junction to Yuma.[21] But in summarizing the evidence in these valleys, as well as those mentioned above, only one conclusion can be reached. The range country was misused.[22] Land which nature had stocked with a few hundred game animals had been called upon to support thousands of voracious cattle. The same grasses which for ages had grown belly-high and which had been cut in quantity as wild hay by the early settlers to supply the cavalry were now given no rest.

All the ranges were being overgrazed with none held in reserve for lean years. By 1891 cattle production had reached a peak in the Arizona Territory. In that year there were nearly 721,000 head on the tax rolls. It is the opinion of men who understood the methods of listing property in those days that there were at least twice that number on the grasslands.[23] Whatever the exact figure, however, it is certain that the number of stock which could be safely carried on the range year after year had been exceeded.

The day of reckoning came in 1891 when ranchmen were faced with a severe drouth. Without rain there was no grass and soon

very little water. Many cattle died, especially in May and June of 1892; but not until the second summer had passed without rain did cattlemen realize how truly the ranges were overstocked and that livestock had to be removed. During September and October thousands of southern Arizona cattle were shipped to pastures in Texas, the Indian Territory, Kansas, California, Nevada, and as far north as Oregon.[24] Many of the animals were so thin that they could hardly be moved.[25]

The exodus and fatalities continued until the rains came in July, 1893. Conservative estimates places the losses at fifty per cent, and some ranchmen said that it ran as high as seventy-five per cent. Territorial Governor L. C. Hughes reported that all the cattle would have perished if the rains had been delayed sixty more days.[26] As it was, dozens of speculators who had considered the cattle business a short road to economic independence went broke. Not only were they called upon to sustain losses inflicted by nature; but in the East the great financial panic of 1893 was causing banks to foreclose on loans. Also other creditors demanded the immediate payment of debts.

Needless to say, these events sobered the cattle owners of Arizona. They learned many things from their personal observations and experiences which proved to be valuable to the livestock business in later years. The Arizona cattle industry, as in every new country throughout history, had gone through the experimental stage and soon advanced to a more secure footing. It had become obvious that more conservative methods were necessary. One change was the establishment of ranching on a permanent basis. More surface wells and windmills were erected to render available many ranges theretofore considered unusable. Arizona became a breeding ground as the raising of calves and yearlings for sale became of chief concern. Stockmen had learned that the retention of two and three year old animals caused overstocking and was to be avoided like the plague. Furthermore, the cowmen now realized that there was not an inexhaustible supply of grass. Improved breeds were introduced which made it possible for a recent President of the Arizona Cattle Growers' Association to say, "We may not be growing more cattle per section, but today we are growing more pounds of beef per section."

Even before the full force of the drouth had been felt, another modification in the industry was evident. Experienced, resident cattlemen began to consolidate their holdings into larger companies. They pooled their resources in order to develop artificial water and to market their cattle more profitably. Among the new companies were the Sierra Bonita Land and Cattle Company, the Tombstone Land and Cattle Company, and the Arivaca Land and Cattle Company.[27]

Most of these large ranches became "hodgepodges." They made use of homestead, forest, Indian reservation, and state-leased land as well as the public grazing domain. It was a real problem to secure enough land for a profitable cattle operation. Not until the Grazing Homestead Act of 1916 was passed did Congress recognize the existence of the cattle industry in the West.[28] But even the 640 acre maximum entry obtainable under this law was inadequate. Most of the arid land had a carrying capacity not to exceed 10 to 30 head to the section. Stockraisers considered at least a hundred head necessary for a competent living. With some exceptions then, anything short of four sections was deemed insufficient even for a small operation.[29]

Many cattlemen leased forest lands in order to secure more grass. At first they resented regulations laid down by the Forest Service. Their fury was finally abated, however, when they came to realize that overgrazing was truly an evil. Their attitude switched to the point that after the turn of the century the Arizona Cattle Growers' Association consistently advocated the administration of the public domain under federal control similar to the operation and supervision of the national forest reserves by the Forest Service.[30]

They had to wait until 1934, however. The Taylor Grazing Act of that year was passed to provide for regulated control of the unappropriated grazing lands and thus stabilized the livestock industry which was dependent upon the public range.[31] The public domain is no longer the dog-eat-dog proposition where everyone was out to get what he could because if he didn't get it someone else would. The laws have made it increasingly more difficult for stockraisers to flaunt the laws of nature.

In conclusion, it should be said that cattle-raising, Arizona's oldest and most colorful industry, has played a significant role in the state's economy. Arizona owes a tremen-

dous debt to its pioneers. The hardy cattlemen who blazed the trails, subdued the savage Indians, fought the outlaws, and laid the foundations for community life enabled Arizona to become the forty-eighth state. The early Americans, as well as the missionaries and Spanish-American vaqueros who came before them, were a vigorous and resourceful breed of mankind. So are their successors today.

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LUCK OF A DAMP ARIZONA WEDDING IN 1877

By CHRIS GEISLER, American Hotel, Tucson

(A Reminiscence taken from the Historical Society Archives)

1877—THE DAWN of Glory of Arizona's wildest days begins with the opening of Rich Tombstone and many other Mines. S. P. R .R. just entering the territory. Bare naked Indian Bucks, breech cloth, Bead necklace, two braids of Black hair over their Backs. Squaws with silver bracelets and Calico Wrapper, every day sight. Haydens Ferry (now "Tempe") The main trading Post and Flour Mill.

Scott the manager engaged me to Accompany him on the Semi Anual Collecting trip along the numerous Mining Camps. Getting a good supply of provisions for a 3 week trip of Ham Bacon flour Coffee and Caned goods, Two Winchester Rifles and old reliable Colts 45. Starting Early with two good Horses and Old Stage Buckboard. Across the dessert, made Picket Post (now Pinal) that evening. Meeting many old

friends, inviting us to stay next day to the Marriage feast and dance. Picket Post, town of several hundred people—2 Quartz Mills, milling ore from Silver King Mine—5 miles up the Mountain.

Bill "Duncan", the groom had cleaned up, over 60 Thousand dollars, leasing Silver King tailings. Bill with the fortune and tired of bachelor life, found himself An old California Sweet heart. Brought her to Florence, to be his Wife. The whole town was exited, Women tried to outdo each other in Baking and Cooking the feast. Large quantities of Wines Liquors Cigars Candes etc had already arrived from California. The Companies large boarding house, Half of it resting on stilts over the Canyon in Pinal creek. Renovated and decorated. Everybody generous and liberal to Make the feast a success.

About 4 P. M. attention was called to the heavy black clouds over King Mountain. Being the end of June the season for Cloudbursts, in this section. Loosing no time, Soon we were on our way, as we had 6 miles to go to Cross Pinal Creek in the narrow canyon. To cross the creek on higher ground. No crossing, once the torrent came. Before being half way, the storm of heavy brown dust, followed by Sheets of rain. We had Killed 6 Rattle Snakes in the road in the six miles. This section infested with big rattlers. Crossing the creek, not yet swollen, on the high Messa on the other side. 60 feet over the creek, to the abandoned old Hewitt Stage Station. A large Adobe building, no doors or Windows occupied by 2 prospectors, out of grub. A large fireplace and Pile of dry wood. Hurriedly packing our provisions and Blankets into the Adobe, a great relief that we were safe.

Stage with Bridal party, 2 hours late. Soon one of the Prospectors, came back from the creek saying, flood 10 feet high and raising. Rain pouring down in torrents and no stage could cross before morning. About 8 P.M. Rattle of stage could be heard and also the hilarious singing and shouting from the Watersoaked Bridal party. Creeking Brakes brought the old Coach to halt—Several open teams followed. Bride and groom were first to Enter, followed by the gay, dripping Wet followers. The Old Coach covered with old rotten Broken canvas, no protection to Sand Storms or rain, only adding to the Missery of passengers had to indure. Heaping on plenty of dry wood on the fire, in the large fireplace. Bright red flames soon send their rayes through the whole place, reflecting on the grotisque figurs, silueted on the brown Adoby walls. Drinking and singing—a gay humanity. looking more like a band of Painted Indians. They not realizing, what was going on at Picket Post 6 miles away, which they could not make before morning. "If then."

The Bride a charming slender blonde Her tight fitting garments Drenched clinging to her graceful form, like tissue paper bringing out all fine lines of her shapely form. A little flower bedecked Hat over the golden blond hair, more like last years Birds Nest. Her dust covered face streaked by rain gave her the appearance of an Indian princess on the War path. instead a wedding. Bill the groom—was surely a scream the only unhappy man in the croud. With a soft Black Hat, the dye of which had streaked his Brown face looking more like a New Zeland tatoed chief than a Bronzed Arizona Miner. His black Prince Albert, sleaves streched over his dirst stained hands, from, Hand-me-down in Florence.

Soon we got bussey getting a hot meal into the famished Watersoaked party, not So Elaborate, as the one expeted at Picket Post, But satisfactory. Lucky we found a large 2 gal. Coffee pot and Large Dutch oven—left over by the Old Stage Co. having a good supply of 5 pounds coffee 25 pounds flour. Soon had coffee a going, Dough for Bread in Oven, which I had to repeated several times to feed the half famished party. Soon we had the large 20 foot table covered with Hot Ham and bacon canned Beans and Canned fruit and Steamghot Strong Coffee. Scarcity of Plates & Cutty [cutlery] & Cups, their fingers had come in play best they could. All quietly eating with much gusto. An apetite only Mountains and dessert can give.

A perfectly Well satisfied croud and Appreciating. Calling me the mascott and life saver. (all Bunk) All quietly Smoking and chatting. Soon looking for quarters for the night. Spreading Our large tarepolin on the dry dirt floor, Donating blankets to the newly married to enjoy their hony moon, the First night. Soon all was quiet, in the Adoby, ruffled only by the roar of creek, tossing heavy boulders, Sounds like Cannonading. Just before daylight a man on horseback brought the already Anticipated news

Picket Post, over half Washed away by flood. Boarding House, with the fine liquors and dishes donated by Ladies, all gon down Creek. Not 300 feet from where we are. No use to go there, "nothing left"—go to Florence, the nearest. 35 miles.

Scott and myself got up early had Black Coffee and bread—got to Florence the next day, gila River too high to cross that day. Stopping at a ranch until we could cross, the gila River, which was the next day. Arriving at Florence, we gave them the first news of the disaster of the striken town of Pinal. The Sheriff, lost no time to send out relief and provisions, As the only store of Pinal, was mostly Washed away, also tons of flour, stored over Pinal Creek, (We had collected, the day before, for all that flour.)

ARIZONA HISTORY FROM NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS

The (Phoenix) *Arizona Republican*
April 30, 1922
"Tribal Atrocities Alleged in Divorce Suit Against Wealthy Mohave Indian Outdoes Fiction"

THE OPENING SKIRMISH of one of the most interesting legal battles in the history of Mohave county was fought out today in the Oatman Court of Domestic Relations when John Oatman, wealthy Mohave Indian, was sued for divorce by his wife, Estelle Oatman. Both plaintiff and defendant live near the Oatman gold camp in which the Mohave chief is heavily interested.

John Oatman claims to be the grandson of Olive Oatman, famous in Arizona history. In 1851 the Oatman family while on its way from Illinois to California was massacred by Indians. One daughter, Olive, was spared and forced to marry a Mohave brave. She became such a thorough Indian woman that years later, when her brother insisted that she leave her husband and children, she went insane.

In bringing her suit for divorce yesterday Mrs. Oatman swore, both legally and literally, that her husband had reverted to "dog dinners," that he frightened her on several occasions by putting phosphorus on his body and doing the old tribal ghost dances, and that he had had many conferences with bootleg peddlers of "coffin-varnish," "forty-rod" and "sheepherder's delight."

Moreover, besides naming an Albino girl of the Yavapai tribe, Mrs. Oatman stated that her husband had built a covered pit and filled it with gila monsters, lizards, vinagrones, scorpions, tarantulas and rattlesnakes, that he had pushed her into said pit when she objected to the Yavapai Albino swimming the Colorado river to visit her husband, and that he had displayed other evidences of failing marital affections.

Through her attorney, V. P. Lucas of Oatman, Mrs. Oatman further alleged that her husband was addicted to eating locoweed and that during the dementia following this dissipation on one occasion he had tied her into the topmost prickly branches of a candelabra cactus 25 feet high and had left her there during a scorching hot afternoon.

She further alleged that while in the "hogan" or house, Mr. Oatman continually scratched matches on his bare feet, that following an ancient Mohave custom, he had refused to look at his mother-in-law since the Oatman marriage in 1903 and that in 1911 he had threatened to feed her youngest son, then eight months old, to the Mohave sacred rattlesnake which is fed but once a year.

While using dynamite in working a claim in the Oatman gold mining district in 1916, Mr. Oatman lost part of his scalp, one eye and also sustained such severe lacerations to the lower jaw that Dr. R. A. Hoag, a local dentist who was called as a witness, found it necessary to extract all of Oatman's teeth. Since which time, Mrs. Oatman testified, her husband had taken delight in removing his false teeth, taking out his glass eye and "scalping himself" by removing his wig in order to frighten both his own children and the boys and girls of the tribe.

Moreover, Mrs. Oatman continued, her husband spent most of his money buying glass eyes from a Los Angeles optical goods house. When questioned as to what disposition her husband made of the many glass eyes he purchased, Mrs. Oatman stated that

he lost most of them at poker and that for some weeks before his appearance in court Oatman had no artificial eye at all owing to the refusal of the Los Angeles optical goods house to extend his further credit.

It also was brought out that following a recent division of communal property, Oatman, in order to get his half of the household furniture, had sawed one table, three chairs and a chest of drawers in two and had then removed his half of the furniture from the Oatman home. Mrs. Oatman complained particularly and bitterly that Oatman, in order to get what he claimed was his half of everything, had sawed in two a pastel picture of Mary Dois de Vache, her mother, which crayon likeness she said she had purchased in the town of Oatman some years ago from a traveling Swedish artist. Later in the hearing Mrs. Oatman admitted, however, that some time afterward, when she and her husband had become reconciled temporarily, he had gallantly attempted to nail the picture of her mother and the other household goods together again.

During the testimony a strange Mohave custom was revealed. In years past when a Mohave wife wished to divorce her husband she merely put his saddle outside the door and no further hint was needed. The husband did not return. But now, Mrs. Oatman complained, "No horse no more, no mule no more, no saddle no more. My husband got a flivver in the kitchen with no rubber on the wheels. But Mohave women can't stick a flivver outside door like old time saddle."

In his own defense, through Lawyer C. H. Topp, Mr. Oatman stated that he was tired of married life, that his wife put mud on her hair and fed him nothing but prunes and chile con carne, prunes and tortillas, prunes and enchiladas, prunes and frijoles, and prunes and tamales.

He further alleged that she had broken the terms of an old tribal treaty with the Yavapai Indians by feeding him underdone jackrabbit when, by the terms of the ancient agreement, religiously enforced even today, the Mohaves consume only Colorado river fish and the Yavapais stick to jackrabbits, neither eating the food allotted the other. Oatman vehemently denied that he had ever tasted intoxicating liquors or that he had made home-brew from cactus.

The defendant also asserted that his wife's father, George Bois de Vache, had defrauded him. Particularizing, Oatman stated that prior to a battle royal between tarantulas and vinagrones, staged in a sugar bowl during his wife's absence, his father-in-law had sprinkled ant powder on his (Oatman's) tarantulas, thereby causing his entries to curl up and die during a critical moment in the battle. Oatman declared that as a result of this underhand work he had lost to his father-in-law in wagers all the money he had made in one summer panning gold in the Oatman district.

Judge Zadock Sheffield, of Oatman, has taken the Oatman divorce case under advisement and will hand down a decision next Monday. The entire mining camp eagerly awaits the verdict.

FOLKLORE FROM THE WILL BARNES COLLECTION

in the Historical Society Archives

BEAR STORY

KIND AND RESPECTED CIR: I see in the paper that a man named J..... S..... was atacted and et up by a bare whose cubs he was trying to git when the she bare came up and stopt him by eatin him up in the mountains near your town. What i want to know is did it kill him or was he only party et up and he from this place and all about the bare. I don't know but what he is a distant husband of mine. My first husband was of that name and I suppose he was killed in the war but the name of the man the bare et being the same i thought it might be him after all and i ought to know if he wasn't killed either in the war or by the bare for i have been married twice since and their ought to be a divorce papers got out by him or me if the bare did not eat him all up. If it is him you will know it by having six toaes on the left foot. He also sings base and has a spread eagle tattooed on his front chest and a anker on his right arm which you will know him if the bare did not eat up these parts of him. That is if the bare did not eat him all up. If it did i don't see you can do anything and you needn't take any trouble. My respeks to your family and please ancer back.

P.S. Was the bare killed. Also was he married again and did he leave any property worth me laying claim to?

HISTORIC SITES COMMITTEE

SINCE THE SEPTEMBER organizational meeting of this Statewide committee, much has taken place in every county within the state. Arrangements were made by the Executive Director to provide the necessary survey and instruction forms in order that the groups within each county could begin making the searches for the historical sites.

The second meeting of the "Committee for the Preservation and Restoration of Historic Sites in Arizona," will be held as a part of the Second Annual Arizona Historical Convention on March 15-16-17-18. See the program in this issue of *Arizoniana* for further details. At this Convention there is planned on Thursday, March 16, at 4:00 p.m. in the Board of Directors Room, Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, a meeting of the Executive Council, and Special Advisors of the Historic Sites Committee." On Saturday at 10:30 a.m. a general meeting will be held in the Society Museum for all registrants at which time special reports and reports by County Chairmen will be read. With the exception of four counties, all others have undertaken the sites surveys and have made preliminary reports on their findings.

PROGRESS AT FORT LOWELL

Tucson Junior League Provides Impetus to Construction

WORK AT Fort Lowell, the first restoration project of the "Historic Sites Committee," is progressing rapidly. An organizational meeting of some 20 individuals was held at the Historical Society early in September to plan the entire project. Mr. Julian Hayden of Tucson was elected project chairman and the project group includes individuals who will be able to give advice and help at every stage of the work. Archaeologists from the Arizona State Museum completed the salvage archaeology along Cottonwood Lane, the Officers' Row, on September 15th. This is the first area to be restored. Architect William Goldblatt has completed the plans and specifications for this portion of the fort.

In December the Tucson Junior League voted to aid in the construction by presenting to the Arizona Historical Society the sum of $10,000.00. This amount will essentially be used towards the reconstruction of one of the officer's quarters which will later serve as a museum. Their confidence in the entire project is gratefully acknowledged, and does provide the fundamental aid needed to get the program underway.

PIONEER REUNION

JOHN F. WEADOCK told members and guests of the 77th Annual Luncheon meeting of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society on November 12, "Let us look forward to the tomorrow as the files of this society grow, to tell children yet unborn how the men and women of early Arizona earned their daily bread."

Mr. Weadock, editor and author, was the principal speaker at the meeting which was attended by over 200 members and guests. He was introduced by President Harold Steinfeld. The subject of the main speaker dealt with reminiscences of early Arizona pioneers and of the importance of the preservation of historical material. Everyone attending felt the "presence of the past," as Mr. Weadock related stories about early Arizona settlers. It was an enjoyable affair —a day for the gathering of old friends who enjoyed the Mexican music, the buffet lunch and the presence of Jack Weadock.

DUST FROM THE ARCHIVES

THE INVALUABLE HELP of volunteers in the Archives continues to be of utmost importance in the accessioning of collections and documents in order that our researchers may begin using the materials. Mr. Frank Hillary has undertaken the work of calendaring and indexing the William P. Blake collection of diaries and notebooks. The more than 200 items in this collection cover the period 1845 to 1910. Mrs. Pauline Everett has been hard at work on the photographic collection of Dean Byron Cummings and Will C. Barnes. Mrs. L. R. Harold Martz continues her able assistance in various duties in the library.

In order to facilitate the handling of general works, bibliographic material, and items of an encyclopaedic nature, a number of book cases have been placed in the reading with this material which is easily accessible to the researchers.

The Reading and Research rooms of the Archives were closed for approximately three weeks in January and early February while construction was in progress on the new library shelving and book stacks.

MUSEUM NOTES

THE FEATURED EXHIBIT in the museum hall during November was organized for the Pioneers' Reunion and three special cases presented documents from some of the earlier reunions. Invitations used for some of the banquets, various badges of office and citations were also on display. Another case featured photographs of the various buildings used at one time or another by the Society for its library and museum prior to the construction of this new building in 1954. December's show was timed to help launch the beginning of the four year Civil War Centennial. From the collection of Professor Jack Lee of the University of Arizona, the Society has been able to show through model soldiers many of the battles and campaigns of the Civil War. Four large exhibit cases were utilized for this display. Such battles as Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Antietam were vividly portrayed through these unique and colorful models.

This school semester, more than 450 children have attended the twice-weekly lectures on history, in the society facilties. In addition talks have been given to such organizations as the Tucson Advertising Club, the Rotary Club, the Minnesota Club and the Senior Citizens Club.

Recent gifts to the museum include items by Jules Berman, Mrs. Alcott Farrar Elwell, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Laughlin, Edward Prouty and William Alexander. Mr. Alexander has provided the Museum with a much needed wheel chair and in addition presented the society with a number of pieces of photographic equipment which will be readily used in connection with presenting lectures to the school children.

MUSEUM EXHIBIT SCHEDULE

JANUARY: The Civil War (held over).
FEBRUARY: Western Postal History.
MARCH: Spanish and Mexican Documents from the Society Archives.
APRIL: Beadle's Dime Novels.
MAY: Arizona Imprints.
JUNE: The John and Isabella Greenway Collection.

THE POSTAL HISTORY MUSEUM

THIS NEW DEPARTMENT of the museum was announced in the Winter issue of *Arizoniana* and the objectives concerning the Postal History of the West were also outlined. Since that time, Mr. Albert W. Evans has volunteered his services to the Postal History Department and has been appointed Associate Curator. Mr. Evans is a philatelist of many years experience and a member of the Tucson Stamp Club and the Pioneer Philatelic Phalanx. Another volunteer is Mrs. A. K. Williamson, past president of the Tucson Stamp Club, who has been assisting in the recording and handling of the very substantial accessions.

The new department is attracting the attention of collectors in many parts of the country. A group has organized the Philatelic Rangers. This club will sponsor the postal history activities being carried on. The Rangers has no dues and membership involves a contribution to the museum's postal history fund. Twelve members have enrolled and in addition to Tucson residents, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and New Orleans collectors are represented.

Mr. Norman M. Haac of Huntington Valley, Pennsylvania, is the donor of a set of souvenir booklets prepared by each participating government for presentation to the delegates attending the Fourteenth Congress of the Universal Postal Union at Ottawa in 1957. These booklets are beautiful examples of typography, engraving and bookbinding artistry. Each booklet contains the current series of postage stamps of the particular country and many of them are truly works of art. Mr. Walter A. Benz of Rockville Center, New York, contributed many fine stamps and postal history covers. Dr. Sheldon H. Dike of Albuquerque, New Mexico, presented to the museum a copy of his book: *The Territorial Postoffices of Arizona.* Mr. Charles E. Wise of Pittsburgh, contributed a large collection of postal history covers including Civil War mail and mail of the Confederacy.

Raymond and Roger Weill of New Orleans supplemented a previous gift by adding 34 more albums containing over 81,000 postage stamps of the world to the museum holdings. With their permission, the museum will engage in exchange of some of this material with collectors and other museums

having postal history items of the West needed for our project. Wendell P. Hammon of Saratoga, California, visited the museum recently and arranged an exchange by which the museum received 96 unused Civil War patriotic covers and a number of California covers of the 1860-1879 era, including Wells Fargo items. With all this activity the Postal History Department has made a fine beginning which augurs well for its future.

NECROLOGY

FRANK JULIAN COX GRIFFIN

FRANK J. C. GRIFFIN, retired Indianapolis manufacturer and in recent years, historian of Tubac, Born June 19, 1901 at Mooresville, Indiana, died December 11, 1960.

Soon after his arrival in Tucson in February 1956, he developed an avid interest in the history of Arizona, reviving Arizona's first newspaper and published "The Arizonan," issued quarterly on news of historical interest; using the same name as when published weekly in 1859-1861.

His research into the history of southern Arizona led to the discovery of the original Tu-Baca village. The site was found in January 1959 on the old Coronado Trail on the east bank of the Santa Cruz River. His historical enterprises have resulted in an imposing collection of books and manuscripts; and his revival of Tubac's newspaper helped restore the state's oldest village. Mrs. Griffin donated three lots in one block of the Tubac townsite in 1957, to be set aside as a state monument. Their dream, as of many others became a reality, when Tubas was dedicated as the first state park.

As one historian said of Frank, "He inspired all of us through his interest in Arizona—for he saw the possibilities in what many of us had taken for granted."

LEVI C. UDALL

ARIZONA SUPREME COURT Justice Levi C. Udall, head of one of Arizona's largest pioneer families, born January 204, 1891, in St. Johns, died May 30, 1960 in Wickenburg. He attended public schools in St. Johns, a town his father founded in 1880. In 1911, he graduated from Gila Academy now the Eastern Arizona Junior College in Thatcher. His career as a public servant began in 1915 when he served as clerk of the Apache County Board of Supervisors and Clerk of the Supreme Court. After admission to the bar in 1922, he was elected Apache County attorney for two terms, 1923-24 and 1927-28. In 1930 he was elected superior court judge and served in that post for sixteen years, and in 1946 was named to the State Supreme Court.

The justice also served as president of the St. Johns Stake of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from 1922-1945. Judge Udall held a very active interest in the history of Arizona and had been a member of this Society since 1943. Historians were privileged to hear his paper entitled: "Mormon Reminiscences," which he delivered at the First Annual Arizona Historical Convention last spring. The death of this leading citizen was deeply felt by those in his profession, in the Courts where he had served for so many years, in the church and by the people of Arizona.

PROFESSOR EDUARDO W. VILLA

A HOST OF FRIENDS in Tucson and Southern Arizona heard with deepest regret of the death in Mexico City on October 30, 1960, of Professor Eduardo W. Villa, Sonora historian, educator and man of letters. Professor Villa had gone to the capital with two of his daughters, one of whom was ill and seeking the aid of a Mexico City specialist. He had suffered a heart attack. Villa was born October 26, 1888, in the small village of Baviácora which is located in the Sonora River Valley between Arizpe and Ures, both former capitals of the state of Sonora. He was educated in the primary schools of his native village and later continued his studies in Ures, graduating with a teaching certificate in primary education in 1907. In succeeding years he taught and directed schools in Baviácora, Arizpe, Ures and Banámichi—all communities in the Sonora River Valley. During this period he came to know many persons in different areas of Sonora and gained respect as a patient and thorough teacher. After abandoning his career as a primary school instructor, Villa went to Los Angeles to pursue additional course work. Upon his return to Sonora he accepted the post of Secretary to the Superintendent of Schools, later moving up to become Superintendent. Subsequently, he became Official Translator for the Sonoran government; and, later, Professor and Head of the Department of History at the state university in Hermosillo. He was

removed from the latter position because of statements he had published concerning a former Mexican president with powerful political connections in Sonora. Although he was able to document the truth of his remarks, Professor Villa was not restored to his former position. Since the pension provided him by the state was inadequate for his subsistence, he supported himself in later years by writing and teaching in private schools in Hermosillo, where he continued to make his home. Of all those who have attempted to document the history of Sonora in Spanish. Villa was the best known and most prolific writer. His greatest work was the *Compendio de Historia de Sonora* (Compendium of Sonoran History) which was first published in 1938. A later edition entitled simply *Historia del Estado de Sonora* (History of the State of Sonora) appeared in 1951. Both editions were complete sellouts and only occasionally today are copies available through used book stores. Villa's other publications include *Sonora Heroico* (Heroic Sonora), *Educadores Sonorenses* (Sonoran Educators) and *Galeria de Sonorenses Illustres* (Gallery of Illustrious Sonorans). The latter, especially, received wide circulation. At the time of his death, Professor Villa was nearing completion of a history of the newspaper profession in Sonora which included information about the Fourth Estate in early day Arizona as well. Villa made many visits to Arizona. He was well known to members of the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society and to the faculty of the University of Arizona. He served as Sonora's official representative at the ceremonies dedicating the Father Kino Memorial in Tucson, spoke before groups of university students; and early in 1960 he addressed the Vesta Club of Phoenix on the Crabb Filibustering Expedition. Late in the summer of 1960 he was in Tucson, considering with University officials the publication of a translation of his Sonoran history. In addition to three daughters in Hermosillo, and brothers and sisters in Baviácora and Cananea, Sonora, Villa had numerous kin in Tucson. Among the latter of nieces Angela Villa de Orozco, Luisa Villa de Olmstead and Amanda Villa de Speer, and nephews Rómulo and Ernesto Villa, Francisco Arvizu, and Jesús and Filiberto Rogel. Funeral services for Professor Villa were held in Hermosillo on November 3, 1960.

THE SOCIETY NEEDS

WITHIN PAST YEARS this society has had no funds with which to make purchases of collections of documents, of books, or of significant journals. All additions to the Archives have come from the generosity of our Friends and through the membership. The importance of having important historic journals available for researchers is obvious. Yet is is herein that the Society has gaps in its series. If any of our readers have copies or runs of any of the following quarterlies, please consider donating them to our Achives where many may benefit from their availability:

American Anthropologist

American Heritage

American Historical Review

Catholic Historical Review

Century Magazine

Civil War History

County Museum Quarterly, Los Angeles County Museum

Hispanic American Historical Review

Journal of American Folklore

Military Collector and Historian

Mississippi Valley Historical Review

Montana: The Magazine of Western History

Natural History

Pacific Historical Review

Southwestern Historical Quarterly

The Historian

On January 1, 1961, the Board of Directors approved significant changes in The Membership Classification which are incorporated in the listing on the following page. We anticipate more Participating (non-resident) Members since the dues are now reduced by half. In addition, no longer must a Junior be a son or daughter of a member.

HOW CAN YOU BECOME A MEMBER?

THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY of the Society marked a change in membership classifications, for anyone who has a serious interest in history may now become a member. And Junior memberships are now available.

MEMBERSHIP CLASSIFICATIONS

Pioneer	Direct descendants of residents of Arizona who arrived prior to January 1, 1870. $3.00 admission fee and $3.00 dues.
Territorial	Direct descendants of residents of Arizona since February 14, 1912. $3.00 admission fee and $3.00 dues.
Historical	Direct descendants, or residents of Arizona for 30 years. $3.00 admission fee and $3.00 dues.
*Participating	No residential requirements. $3.00 admission fee and *$5.00 dues.*
*Junior	*Any youth between 12 and 21 years of age.* $3.00 admission fee and $2.00 dues.

*Note the important changes in these classifications.

ARIZONIANA

EVERY THREE MONTHS the Arizona Historical Society will issue this historical publication devoted to various aspects of Arizona history. The quarterly will contain reproductions of interesting documents, rare photographs, historical sketches, vignettes of Arizona pioneers and information on historical happenings about the state. Single subscriptions may be obtained for $5.00 per year, by non-members of this society.

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Simson, William E.
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Steele, Albert
Taylor, Elizabeth Reed
Ware, Nathan Mark
Wilton, Lee
Winsor, Roanna Hill

NEW NON-MEMBER SUBSCRIPTIONS

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Brainerd, E. L., Minneapolis, Minnesota
Cummings, Mrs. Leonard M., Los Angeles
Lance, Mrs. William L., Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania
Larson, Peggy P., Tucson
Quinn, Mr. and Mrs. John L., Burbank, California
Schmidt, Dr. Louis Bernard, Tucson
Schroeder, Albert H., Santa Fe, New Mexico

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APHS PUBLICATIONS

The publications program of the Historical Society is made possible by a grant from
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Currently available

JUAN ANTONIO BALTHASAR: *Padre Visitador to the Sonora Frontier, 1774-1745*
Two original reports. Translated and annotated by Peter Masten Dunne.
Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy. Price $10.00.

A WESTERLY TREND
Being a veracious chronicle of more than sixty years of joyous wanderings, mostly in search of space and sunshine. By Godfrey Sykes. The Lakeside Press. Price $2.50.

AN ARIZONA GATHERING: *A Bibliography of Arizoniana, 1950-1960*
Edited by Donald M. Powell. Price: Hard Cover $7.50; Format $5.50.

Forthcoming publications

HEPAH, CALIFORNIA!
The Journal of Cave Johnson Couts from Monterey, Mexico, to Los Angeles, California, 1848-1849.
Edited by Henry F. Dobyns.

MISSIONARY IN SONORA: *The Diary of Joseph Och, S.J.*
Translated and annotated by Theodore E. Treutlein.

GEORGE HAND'S DIARY: *The Civil War Years*
Edited by Arthur Woodward.

AT THE SALES DESK
Publications now available with discounts to members of this Society:

	Non-Members	*Members*
First Inhabitants of the Southwest by Byron Cummings	$6.00	$4.80
Indians I Have Known by Byron Cummings. Cloth binding	2.50	2.00
Paper binding	1.50	1.25
For the Dean: Essays in Anthropology in Honor of Byron Cummings	6.00	4.80
The Discovery of Rainbow Bridge, The Natural Bridges of Utah and The Discovery of Betatakin	1.00	.85
"Byron Cummings, 1860-1954," by Clara Lee Tanner, *The Kiva,* October 1954.		.25
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